SEPTEMBER 17 & 24, 1984 • $1.50

TRB ON ZACCARO'S TAX RETURNS

The Republican 'Me Generation'

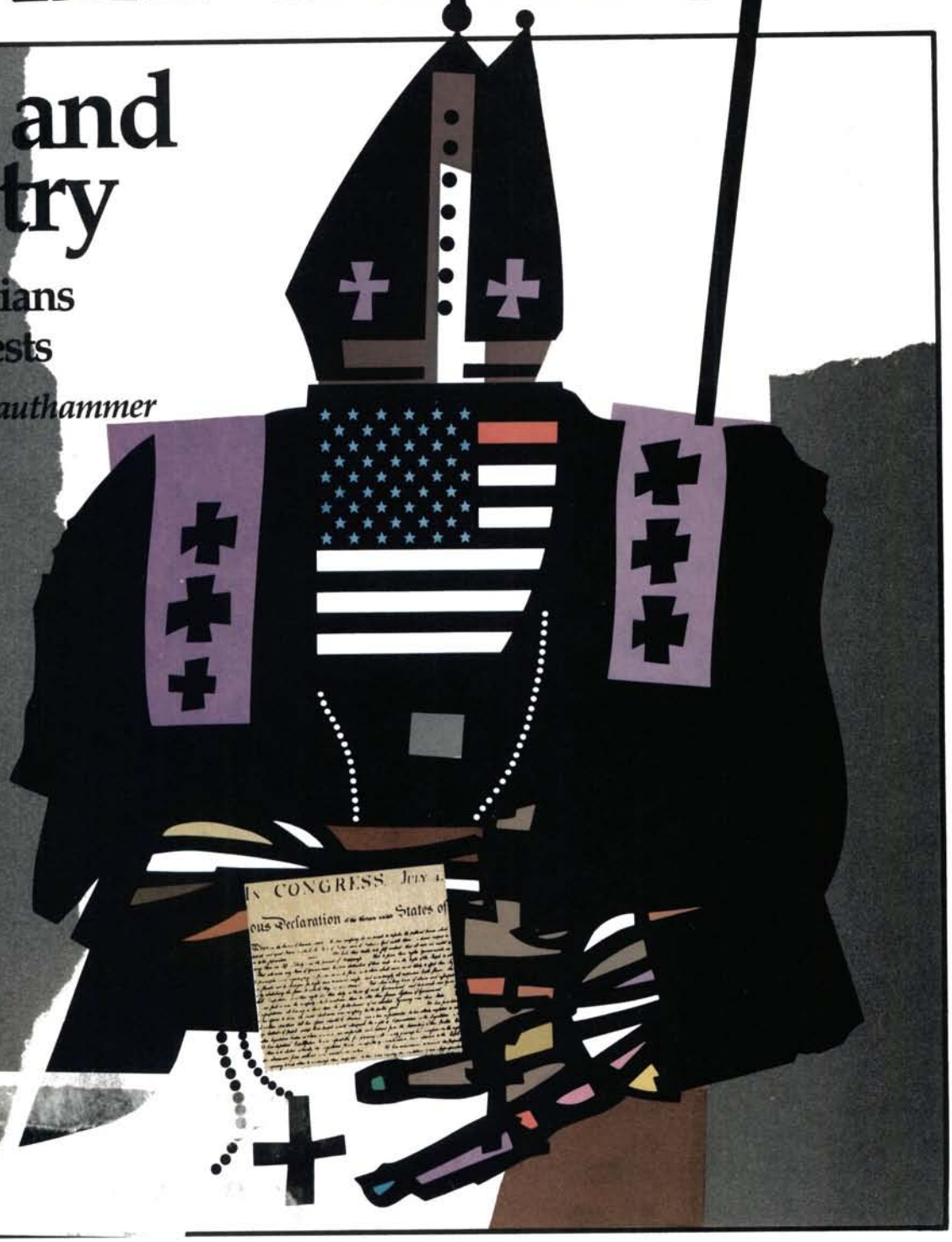
PEARL BELL • SHIRLEY WILLIAMS ON THE FALL OF LABOUR • JOHN CLIVE

THE NEW REPUBLIC

God and country

The politicians vs. the priests

by Charles Krauthammer



0 14043 38
787445

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

WORTHWHILE

To the editors:

Charles Krauthammer's article on comparable worth ("From Bad to Worth," TNR, July 30) is full of misinformation and bias. In fact, the hysterical tone leaves me breathless.

Opponents of comparable worth claim that it will destroy the "market." The market argument is that wages are established by supply and demand, or Adam Smith's so-called "invisible hand." But for most jobs, there is little evidence of a relationship between availability of workers and wages for that job. Wages for entry-level, unskilled occupations, for example, show consistent disparities for jobs typically done by women and those typically done by men. In general, the more an occupation is dominated by women, the less it pays.

Opponents also argue that it is not possible to determine objectively the value of two different jobs. It is, they claim, like comparing "apples and oranges." Employers, however, determine the value of jobs every day by paying different wages for different kinds of work. Objective job evaluation systems have been in place for over thirty years. Point factor systems developed by management consultants assign points for skill, effort, responsibility, and working conditions to arrive at a fair measure of job value. While these systems are not an exact science, they help eliminate stereotyped views of work value. Consulting firms have made a good deal of money comparing jobs. Only when the comparison reveals sex-based discrimination do we start hearing about apples and oranges.

Similarly, estimates of the costs of correcting wage discrimination have been greatly inflated. Studies in Minnesota show that the cost of closing the wage gap for male and female state employees equals 4 percent of the state's payroll.

The Minnesota legislature established a pay equity program for the state's 34,000 full-time employees in 1982. The management consultant firm of Hay and Associates (hardly a radical feminist front) had established a job evaluation system in 1979 to measure the content of jobs in state service. Uniformly and without exception, female-dominated job classes were paid at a lesser rate than male classes with the same point value. For example, the female class of Licensed Practical Nurse with 183 Hay points received a maximum monthly salary of $1,382, while the male class of Grain Sampler, with only 120 Hay points, received a maximum monthly salary of $1,552.

In 1983, the legislature, with the active support of Governor Rudy Perpich, appropriated $21.8 million to close about half the wage gap between male and female job classes of equal value. The sky did not fall. We anticipate closing the rest of the wage gap in the 1986-87 biennium.

To assume that the problem of low wages can be resolved merely by waiting until the marketplace is integrated is both naïve and counterproductive. By achieving pay equity, we say to women and to men that the work traditionally done by women is of value. We are saying that nursing and teaching need to be paid in accordance with the same criteria applied to grain handling and highway repair. Anatomy may be destiny, but it's a poor basis for a paycheck.

NINA ROTHCHILD
Commissioner of Employee Relations
State of Minnesota
St. Paul, Minnesota

ISRAEL'S SOUL

To the editors:

The fragmentation of Israel's soul you see in the "Dead Heat" election results (TNR, August 13 & 20) may be more of a parsing, a way of dealing with confusion. Obviously the country need not expose itself to such embarrassments as the election of Meir Kahane; if it changed from at-large proportional representation to district or numbered seats, Labor or Likud would have a majority every time. But what would this do to Israel's soul? Its voters, like ours, would often face lesser-of-two-evils choices or be asked (as in the Carter-Ford campaign) to pick between flavors of lukewarm. A system built to fracture demands consensus-building. When no

continued on page 39

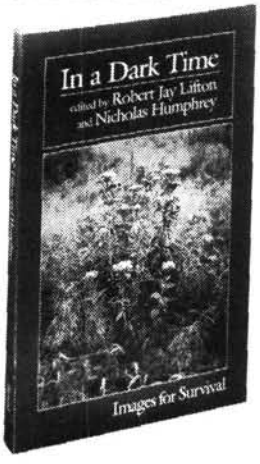
In a dark time, the eye begins to see.*

How to imagine the next war? Einstein said, "The power set free from the atom has changed everything, except our ways of thinking." Yet, if we are to prevent nuclear war, imagine it we must. We are not short of *elemental* images; they are there in the Bible, Shakespeare, Melville, the voices of schoolchildren, and yes, the voices of the politicians. Only the appropriate *form* eludes us, the liberating pattern. We have tried to begin that formative process in this book. — From the Introduction

Drawing on the wisdom of philosophers, poets, politicians, and ordinary people, the editors, both professional psychologists, have compiled a unique and compelling book of hope and courage for the nuclear age.

*Theodore Roethke, "In a Dark Time." Copyright 1960 by Beatrice Roethke as Administratrix of the Estate of Theodore Roethke. From *The Collected Poems of Theodore Roethke*.

$15.00 cloth, $5.95 paper



In a Dark Time
Images for Survival
Edited by Robert Jay Lifton and Nicholas Humphrey

At bookstores or from Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 02138

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RECEIVED SEP 4
Ambassador College
Pasadena, Calif.

Property of
AMBASSADOR COLLEGE LIBRARY
Big Sandy, Texas

FOUNDED 1914
WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Weekly Journal of Opinion

ISSUES 3,635 & 3,636
SEPTEMBER 17 & 24, 1984

Editor-in-Chief and President
MARTIN PERETZ

Editor
HENDRIK HERTZBERG

Literary Editor
LEON WIESELTIER

Executive Editor
MORTON M. KONDRACKE

Senior Editors
ANN HULBERT, MICHAEL E. KINSLEY, CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

Managing Editor
DOROTHY WICKENDEN

Associate Editor
JEFFERSON MORLEY

New Republic Books Editor
(Holt, Rinehart and Winston)
STEVE WASSERMAN

Films
STANLEY KAUFFMANN

Theater
ROBERT BRUSTEIN

Music
EDWARD ROTHSTEIN

Poetry
ROBERT PINSKY

Contributing Editors
ABRAHAM BRUMBERG, ROBERT COLES, HENRY FAIRLIE, JOSEPH FEATHERSTONE, PAUL FUSSELL, JOHN KEEGAN, BOB KUTTNER, R.W.B. LEWIS, NATHAN LEWIN, MARK CRISPIN MILLER, WILLIAM J. QUIRK, ROBERT B. REICH, PAUL ROBINSON, MAGGIE SCARF, RONALD STEEL, RICHARD L. STROUT, ANNE TYLER, NICHOLAS VON HOFFMAN, MICHAEL WALZER, C. VANN WOODWARD

National Political Correspondent
SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL

Assistant to the Editors
LAURA E. OBOLENSKY

Production Manager
PATRICIA A. HOPPER

Assistant Production Manager
MARGERY MERTINS

Production Associates
HILARY M. KANTER, KAREN A. STEINKE

Reporter-Researchers
ANTHONY KAYE, ALYZA LEWIN, VICTORIA SLOAN, SUSAN SUBAK

Publisher
JAMES K. GLASSMAN

Associate Publisher
REED PHILLIPS

Controller
J. KRISTINE KLASMAN

Advertising Manager
JOAN M. STAPLETON

Executive Assistant to the Publisher
SUSAN A. BUFFETT

Circulation Director
TOM HICKS

Circulation Manager
GENE SITTENFELD

Assistant to the Controller
LIVIA ARNAIZ

Circulation Assistant
ROBIN CHERRY

Assistant to the Advertising Manager
CATHERINE SCHILLING

Leadership Network Advertising
ROBERT F. SENNOTT JR.

Back Issues and Reception
CATHI E. STALLINGS

2 **CORRESPONDENCE** ..... On comparable worth, Geraldine and Vanessa, &c.

4 **TRB FROM WASHINGTON** ..... PORTRAIT IN TAX RETURNS
John Zaccaro is a disgrace to Reaganomics.

5 **THE EDITORS** ..... PLATFORM DIVING
After winning gold medals in the welfare-for-the-rich race and in the character assassination event, the Republicans also scored a few worthy points.
THIRD WORLD BLUES
Does self-determination lead to self-destruction?
NOTEBOOK

8 **ANNE MANUEL** ..... COKE BATTLE
For Guatemalan unionists, terror is the real thing.

12 **SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL** ..... THE G.O.P. 'ME DECADE'
Dallas was an invitation-only party for me, myself, and mine. Even the President's congenial hypocrisy couldn't disguise the greed of the celebrants.

15 **CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER** ..... THE CHURCH-STATE DEBATE
Mario Cuomo challenges his archbishop over how (but not whether) personal morality should guide political action. Their exchange suggests how we might best combine belief and toleration.

19 **PETER SKERRY** ..... VENDETTA IN THE VALLEY
An ideological crusade in Texas shows why the Administration has trouble winning Hispanic votes.

24 **STANLEY KAUFFMANN** ..... ON FILMS: IN THE NAME OF ORDER
An impressive and comprehensive film encyclopedia.

25 **SHIRLEY WILLIAMS** ..... LABOUR PAINS
Labour in Power: 1945-1951
by Kenneth Morgan

30 **PEARL K. BELL** ..... THE OUTLAW JOSIE HERBST
Josephine Herbst
by Elinor Langer

33 **JOHN CLIVE** ..... ENGLISH MINDS
That Noble Science of Politics: A study in nineteenth-century intellectual history
by Stefan Collini, Donald Winch, and John Burrow

34 **DAVID FERRY** ..... POEM *A Young Woman*

36 **ANTHONY KAYE** ..... ANARCHISTS IN AMERICA
The Haymarket Tragedy
by Paul Avrich

38 **BERNARD GWERTZMAN** ..... SIX DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD
Warriors for Jerusalem: The Six Days That Changed the Middle East
by Donald Neff

42 **DALLAS DIARIST** ..... WHITE PEOPLE

COVER by Michael David Brown for THE NEW REPUBLIC. Article on page 15.

THE NEW REPUBLIC, Volume 191, Numbers 12 & 13, Issues 3,635 & 3,636, September 17 & 24, 1984. (Printed on August 29, 1984.) Published weekly (except for combined issues dated January 9 & 16, July 16 & 23, August 13 & 20, and September 17 & 24, 1984) at 1220 19th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036. Telephone (202) 331-7494. Leadership Network advertising (212) 684-5500. Yearly subscriptions, $45; foreign, $67; Canada, $55. Back issues, $2 (includes postage & handling). ©1984 by The New Republic, Inc. (ISSN 0028-6583). Second-class postage paid at Washington, DC. Indexed in Readers' Guide and Media Review Digest. Available on microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Member of the Audit Bureau of Circulations. Unsolicited manuscripts cannot be returned unless accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. **Subscribers:** Please send all remittances, changes of address, and subscriptions inquiries to **Subscription Service Dept., The New Republic, P.O. Box 955, Farmingdale, NY 11737-0001.** For subscription problems call **800-645-9559** (In New York State call 800-732-9119).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB®

FROM WASHINGTON

Portrait In Tax Returns

One question raised by the Zaccaro family tax returns is whether anyone inept enough to pay 40 percent of her income in taxes is qualified to be Vice President of the United States. Through bad timing, slow-wittedness, or perhaps a simple lack of patriotism, Geraldine Ferraro and her wealthy husband have almost totally failed to use tax breaks designed specifically for people like them. They are a disgrace to Reaganomics.

Of course this 40 percent figure is suspect. Even without seeing John Zaccaro's business tax returns, we know that it doesn't count income from up to $170,000 of property the Zaccaros have put in trust for their children, or the interest on Ferraro's $150,000 or so of municipal bonds. Nor does it include the nontaxable portion of their long-term capital gains. In 1978 this alone added $42,000 to their reported combined income of $110,000.

But the very fact that 1978 was their big year for capital gains shows what party poopers the Zaccaros have been. Nineteen seventy-eight was when all the fun started. If they'd waited until November, when the first "supply-side" tax cut for capital came into effect, instead of selfishly taking their gain in August, they could have excluded three-fifths of their profit, instead of just half, and saved themselves several thousand dollars in taxes. This, according to supply-side physiologists, would have released special greed enzymes in their metabolisms, leading the Zaccaros to enrich themselves further. Instead, confiscatory taxation drove Mrs. Zaccaro to abandon her family in despair and accept a government handout for a "make-work" job in Washington.

To see how far we've come since the benighted days, consider Ferraro's recent painful discovery that she underpaid her 1978 taxes. She bought a half-share in a building in May of that year, then sold it in October for a quick $68,000 profit on her $25,000 cash investment. But her accountant, overlooking an assumed mortgage, miscalculated the profit at only $6,000. Ferraro had to cough up almost $30,000, plus another $23,000 in interest, to square things.

If the same transaction had occurred in 1984, the tax consequences would be much pleasanter. In 1978 the capital gains exclusion was enlarged. In 1981 the top-bracket tax rate was reduced. Just this year, the "holding period" for long-term capital gains was reduced from a year to six months. If Ferraro could hold onto the property for just three more weeks, the overdue tax on her profits would be about $10,000 instead of $30,000.

The highest tax rate on capital gains is now 20 percent, just a shade higher than the very lowest tax rate on wage income, including Social Security. The idea is that tax breaks for capital profits will stimulate productive investment. If you can see what's so productive about buying a seedy warehouse and then selling it, unchanged, six months later, the Republican Party has a platform it would like to sell you. (Ferraro, by the way, has a sterling record of voting against these mindless favors for her own ilk.)

John Zaccaro has never built a building in his life. ("We buy property...and it appreciates. That's what America is all about," his wife nicely put it.) Yet his business—owning and managing buildings that already exist—is tailor-made to benefit from recent tax changes ostensibly aimed at the "supply-side." Buildings generate huge "depreciation" deductions on the fiction that they're wearing out, even as they become more valuable. They are the classic tax shelter.

Zaccaro, though, has neglected his civic duty to use his buildings the way God and the Reagan Administration intended. Five of his six buildings are held in the name of a corporation, which means that phony losses can't be used to reduce his personal tax burden. Zaccaro bought most of the buildings years ago, when they were cheap, and has failed to trade them in for buildings that would give him a higher "basis" to

continued on page 41

Does good politics require irresponsible economics?

Amar Bhide, a McKinsey & Co. consultant, concludes that if only politicians concentrated more on winning elections than on being "statesmen," our economy would be enjoying higher growth, lower unemployment and stable prices.

"His message that the public is not foolish about the programs put forward by politicians is intriguing and important."
—*ROBERT H. WATERMAN, co-author, In Search of Excellence*

"Required reading for all politicians seeking election. The last time I looked, that was all of them."
—*RICHARD L. HUBER, Senior Vice President, Citibank*

OF POLITICS AND ECONOMIC REALITY
The Art of Winning Elections with Sound Economic Policies
Amar Bhide

$15.95 at bookstores, or direct from the publisher.
Toll-free (800) 638-3030 Major credit cards accepted.
BASIC BOOKS, INC.
10 East 53rd Street, New York 10022

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC
SEPTEMBER 17 & 24, 1984

PLATFORM DIVING

Contrary to the assertion endlessly repeated by television commentators, the Republican National Convention in Dallas was *not* boring. It was fascinating, in a way, to see a party with so much to be happy, generous, and positive about be so negative, vengeful, and backward-looking. From keynoter Katherine Ortega through President Reagan, speaker after speaker exhumed the corpse of Carter-Mondale for examination, denunciation, and reinterment. That ritual did become predictable, as did the characterization of the Democrats in San Francisco as the party of special interests, pessimism, fear, limits, and doom. It was remarkable, though, that while the Republicans asserted often enough that they, in contrast, were the party of "hope, confidence, and growth," there was so little joy in their proceedings in Dallas.

We are not about to claim that the Democrats avoided negativism at their convention. One might say that both parties indulged in the politics of resentment—the Democrats representing resentment of the have-nots against the haves, and the Republicans the reverse. In terms of individual performance, we would be hard pressed to say which speaker perpetrated the lowest blow. It well might be New York Governor Mario Cuomo, who alleged that Mr. Reagan has been "escalating to a frenzy the nuclear arms race," has been "refusing to discuss peace with our enemies," and has been providing money "to Latin American governments that murder nuns and then lie about it." But Mr. Cuomo was nearly matched by United Nations Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, who in an otherwise stirring speech repeatedly accused "the San Francisco Democrats" of "always" blaming America for what's bad in the world. Some Democrats do blame America, always; Walter Mondale, to cite one significant exception, does not.

Beyond individual achievement, though, the team gold medal for character assassination goes to the Republicans without question. The Democrats surely were on the attack, accusing the Reagan Administration of favoring the rich, ignoring the poor, and waging an excessively militaristic foreign policy. This, we submit, is fair comment about policy. It would have been fair for the Republicans to charge that the Democrats' plans to raise taxes and cut defense will be bad for the country. The Republicans consistently went beyond that, however, as when former President Ford alleged that Democrats believe that America's future belongs to "the wishers, the wasters, the wanters, the whiners, and the weak," and when Senator Barry Goldwater used what may be his last opportunity to address the nation on television to accuse the Democrats of responsibility for all of America's wars in this century.

There were a few exceptions to the general tone of negativism in Dallas. Significantly, the most inspired speech at the Republican Convention came from Representative Jack Kemp of New York, who is not yet a member of his party's ruling establishment. While President Reagan, Vice President Bush, and other Republican leaders congratulated themselves on their past achievements, Mr.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Kemp observed that "our work at home is far from finished, and it won't be finished until every single American fully shares in prosperity." Mr. Kemp was there to explain the foreign policy plank of his party's platform. He did so by proposing a new vision of America's role in fostering growth and democracy in the world. "Because of our success, the world is now looking to us in expectation and hope," Mr. Kemp declared. "During a second Reagan-Bush term, we must share the American idea with the rest of the world." According to Mr. Kemp, "political freedom cannot be separated from economic freedom. Democracy is threatened not only by armies, but by debt and austerity. We must liberalize trade, and give the world again a money it can rely on—a dollar 'as good as gold.' In a stable world there is no limit to what free men and women can accomplish with free markets, free trade, and free enterprise. This is a time for courage and optimism. The world is filled with continents not yet developed, democracies not yet founded, human potential not yet reached. Like our nation, it is filled with people of every color, creed, and culture who want their families to realize what we call the American dream."

In spite of Mr. Kemp's rhetorical exuberance and generosity of spirit, the specific policy prescriptions that he and his supply-side allies forced into the Republican platform are based on a pinched and selfish view of human nature—the notion that allowing the rich to amass as much wealth as they can in as unbridled a way as possible eventually will redound to the benefit of everyone, including the poor. A corollary of this thesis, enshrined in Administration policy and the Republican platform, is that money collected in taxes and spent to alleviate suffering or invested in human resources is money wasted. Is market capitalism a better model for economic growth than bureaucratic central planning? Of course it is, but that does not mean that wealthy economies such as ours cannot grow and simultaneously practice equity and compassion.

THE REPUBLICANS believe the opposite, and Kemp Republicans even more than Reagan Republicans. The platform written by Mr. Kemp and his allies calls not only for no new tax increases in the face of $170 billion budget deficits, but still further tax cuts skewed to the rich, including indexation of capital assets, elimination of double taxation on corporate dividends, and lowering of the tax rate on bank interest. Tax rates on capital are already well below those on labor; capital gains are taxed at 15 percent, and few corporations actually pay the 25 percent rate paid by the average worker. The Reagan Administration has raised the taxes of workers while lowering them for corporations and wealthy individuals, and Mr. Kemp wants to do even more of that. Not only equity is threatened here, but the jobs that Republicans claim will be produced by their strategy. If a potential employer can save more money in taxes by installing a new machine than he will earn by employing a worker, that's obviously what he will do. The platform also calls for elimination of the graduated income tax and its replacement with a flat tax that would sock the middle class and the rich equally, regardless of their ability to pay.

Even though Mr. Reagan is likely to ignore his own party platform on taxes, he is fully in accord with its prescription for lowering deficits by cutting spending. The record of the last four years is that the easiest programs for both Republicans and Democrats to eliminate are those benefiting the poor. Although the speechmakers in Dallas relentlessly accused the Democrats of being the party of special interests, the Republican platform is full of new benefits for such Republican constituencies as homeowners, farmers, the building industry, and oil companies.

And though the Republicans abhor government involvement in free economic expression, their platform and their speeches in Dallas lauded the intrusion of government into family life and religious life. Mr. Reagan is not merely putting the power of the Presidency behind religious values, but behind particular religions and churches—the more conservative and fundamentalist, the better.

HOWEVER, IT MUST be said that in three important areas we prefer the Republicans' pronouncements to those of the Democrats. First, nowhere in the Democratic platform is there a plank denouncing bigotry and anti-Semitism, and the reason, of course, is that it would have been interpreted as a slap at Jesse Jackson and his friend, Louis Farrakhan. Accordingly, it might well have been adopted at the convention by split decision, causing the party a huge public embarrassment. Walter Mondale and his aides were even afraid to have such a denunciation voted upon by the Democratic National Committee at its full post-convention meeting in San Francisco on July 20. Instead, it was passed by the committee in a quiet telephone poll weeks later. In contrast, the Republican platform and speeches by Mr. Reagan and Mr. Bush all contained specific condemnations of racial and religious bigotry. Mr. Bush mentioned Mr. Farrakhan by name. The President declared that "in the party of Lincoln, there is no room for intolerance." Would that Mr. Reagan had acted on those words when directing the civil rights enforcement efforts of his Justice Department or when he faced pressure from southern conservatives to grant tax exemptions to schools openly discriminating against blacks.

Second, the Republican platform declares that "just as we must guarantee opportunity, we oppose attempts to dictate results. We will resist efforts to replace equal rights with discriminatory quota systems and preferential treatment." Walter Mondale favored a prohibition of quotas in the Democratic platform, too, but it was dropped in negotiations with Mr. Jackson, who sought endorsement of them. As finally adopted, the Democratic platform allows for "verifiable measurements" as a device for promoting affirmative action, which may or may not mean that the party favors quotas. We prefer the Republicans' clarity on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this issue, though we would prefer, too, that the Republicans did more to create opportunity for women and minority group members who have been denied it.

Finally, we find ourselves more in agreement with the foreign policy principles set forth in the Republican platform than in the Democratic, and with the foreign policy pursued by the Reagan Administration, as opposed to that advocated during the primaries by Walter Mondale and other Democratic candidates for President. Democratic foreign policy increasingly seems dedicated to the ends of avoiding trouble and "reducing tension" rather than protecting and promoting the national interests of the United States. As a result, the Democrats are led to downgrade threats to U.S. interests, to find reasons why the demands of U.S. adversaries are legitimate, and to question the moral underpinning of U.S. policy. In Latin America, for example, the Democratic platform fails even to mention Cuban and Soviet support for revolutionary activity, treating it solely as an outgrowth of economic deprivation and social injustice. The Republicans declare, as the Democrats do not, that "there is a profound moral difference between the actions and ideals of Marxist-Leninist regimes and those of democratic governments." As opposed to merely "building a safer future"—the ultimate goal of Democratic policy as stated in the 1984 platform, the Republicans declare that "the supreme purpose of our foreign policy must be to maintain our freedom in a peaceful international environment in which the U.S. and its allies and friends are secure against military threats, and democratic governments are flourishing in a world of increasing prosperity." The Republicans propose to keep the peace not by yielding, but by maintaining American strength. That is the policy traditionally advocated by the Democratic Party, but lately abandoned by most of its leading figures.

BECAUSE WE support the principles of Republican policy, however, does not mean that we support the methodology. Strength has a vital military component, but it is far from the only component. Diplomacy, economic assistance, propaganda, and trade are other components which can be used to advance American interests, but they receive secondary treatment from a Republican Party fixated on military power. The party's platform writers seem even more fixated than the Administration, in fact, finding several devious ways to declare that the United States should strive for superiority over the Soviet Union when even President Reagan has declared that parity is sufficient. The most disturbing aspect of the platform—and Administration policy—is the conviction that the doctrine of nuclear deterrence can be abandoned because of advances in space-based anti-missile technology. "Star Wars" devices are unlikely to provide an effective shield against nuclear weapons; basing American policy on them is provocative and dangerous.

We are more encouraged by Republican pronouncements in other areas of foreign policy. The platform and the Administration profess to be willing to negotiate fair arms reduction agreements with the Soviet Union. They declare solidarity with Israel, and we were pleased to note that declarations to that effect were greeted with applause in Dallas as opposed to virtual silence, as in San Francisco. The Republicans favor provision of foreign aid through bilateral channels, rather than through multinational agencies which often pursue policies inimical to U.S. interests. We hope that if Mr. Reagan wins reelection, he will fulfill these pledges and resist those in his Administration who oppose arms control and favor accommodation with the Arabs at Israel's expense. We also hope that he will pursue his policies prudently, as he did not in Lebanon. If a negotiated solution to America's differences with Nicaragua is possible, for example, we hope that the Administration will search for it.

At this moment, there is every reason to believe—despite what we might prefer—that Mr. Reagan will be reelected. His lead, in both the popularity polls and in probable electoral votes, is commanding. But based on the tone of the Dallas convention and the content of the Republican platform, the President and his party should not receive a mandate. What he wants a mandate for—a balanced budget amendment to the U.S. Constitution, a line-item veto, a ban on abortions, tuition tax credits—are either ruses or truly damaging ideas. They are also too small of vision to elicit the enthusiasm of the American people. "The future" and "opportunity" are the political buzzwords of 1984, but they are also shorthand for profound aspirations among the American people—aspirations for sustained economic growth, social harmony, and security in the world. Both American parties are rhetorically exploiting these aspirations. Neither party yet offers evidence of an ability to fulfill them.

THIRD WORLD BLUES

In that vast jurisdiction called the Third World, there are not many happy or even rudimentarily secure people. The evidence increasingly shows that this reality is not a result of imperialism or colonialism, those once appropriate but now obsolete explanations for suffering of all kinds in the southern hemisphere. Self-determination is now the ruling principle just about everywhere except apartheid South Africa, in which brutality is still systematically imposed by people with white skins. Mary McCarthy observed last week at the MacDowell Prize ceremonies in New Hampshire that the belief in progress that animated her youth has vanished. One reason it has vanished, of course, is the strange career of self-determination.

Take independent India, for example, in many ways still one of the better outcomes of decolonization. There, in recent weeks, government troops have probably killed more people in a series of squalid attacks on protesting

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

civilians than were killed by the British—not only at Amritsar, now of screen fame, but perhaps during all the decades of their reign. Mrs. Gandhi's suspension of democracy in several states of the third most populous country in the world, in the meantime, goes virtually unnoticed, altogether unanalyzed in the press.

From Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe, in which the transoceanic liberal clerisy vested so much faith, comes the candid announcement that the government will soon become, on the Marxist-Leninist model, a one-party dictatorship. In this world it is failure which is imitated. Zimbabwe will also be in consequence—it already is in some way—a murderous dictatorship of one tribe over others, a theoretical configuration hardly contemplated by the founder of the dogma in the British Museum. Look for the new Zimbabwe to evoke nostalgia for the old Rhodesia (and by blacks), just as Ethiopia's ruling *Dergue* evokes nostalgia for Haile Selassie. (Look also for the new Zimbabwe to soon compete with Tanzania as international capitalism's most dramatic showcase of the disaster of Marxist-Leninist economic planning.)

In this grim landscape of Third World depredations, Uganda has earned a special place in our memories because of its victimization by that cruel clown, Idi Amin Dada. Now comes a report from U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, Elliott Abrams, charging that the successor government of Milton Obote, which was supposed to have been Uganda's savior from indiscriminate murder, has in fact taken the lives of at least a hundred thousand innocent Ugandans. But hear the defense put out from Entebbe: the Ugandan Government protests that a fairer count of its victims would be only fifteen thousand dead.

Do not think that Uganda is an exception; it is only an especially egregious instance. Almost every day brings fresh news under a Third World dateline of some horrific state action against its own populace. Jesse Jackson and his allies in the Democratic Party want the United States to adopt more aggressively pro-Third World policies. It is also a refrain of the mainstream church establishments. If we heed their advice, however, we will be accomplices, to be sure on the side that some still call "progressive," in the brutalization of whole populations by tiny ruling elites who have latched on to their moral cachet of now bankrupt Third World revolutions.

NOTEBOOK

□ TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO IN THE NEW REPUBLIC: "When you enter the off-Broadway theater where *The Connection* is playing, you have a few moments before the action begins to formulate your expectations. The curtain is drawn, and on the stage some excessively seedy characters are arranged in various attitudes of weariness and gloom. The setting is a tawdry tenement, the furniture is dilapidated, the quarters cramped and dirty. The play, you have been informed, is about drug addiction. The subject is unpromising, and Lower Depths naturalism, it appears, is to be the inevitable treatment. Soon two actors, claiming to be the writer and the producer of the play, run down the aisle, and begin to speak to the spectators. Your expectations shift. These are the familiar, generally gratuitous techniques of experimental theater. Echoes of Brecht, Beckett, Pirandello, and O'Neill begin to sound, and your new expectations harden. The play is arty and derivative; the characters are dull; the dialogue is flat; the directorial pace is flagging; the acting is dreary. It takes about ten minutes to realize that you are witnessing an extraordinary performance in which everything, including your initial response, has been planned with absolute precision. The acting and direction are so unified and true that it would be some kind of violation to single out individuals for praise; and Jack Gelber's play, soon emerges as highly original and unpredictable. Gelber has managed to assimilate, and sometimes to parody, his borrowed techniques without a trace of literary self-consciousness; and by the use of live jazz (superbly played) as a rhythmic contrast to the cool junkie daze of the dialogue, he has introduced an effective theatrical device all his own. The most striking thing about this work is its Spartan honesty; the only false note of the evening is struck by your own conventional expectation, conditioned by years of phony drama and sociological indoctrination." ("Junkies and Jazz," by Robert Brustein, September 28, 1959.)

Unions and terror in Guatemala.

COKE BATTLE

Guatemala City

THE COCA-COLA bottling plant on the outskirts of Guatemala City, the Embotelladora Guatemalteca S.A., is surrounded by a chain-link fence and a tall cement block wall, topped with barbed wire and shards of broken glass. Since February 17, when the owners announced their decision to shut down the plant and lay off 460 employees, the wall has been decorated with large banners proclaiming, THIS MANAGEMENT ACTION IS ONLY ONE OF MANY AIMED AT DESTROYING THE UNION and other pro-labor slogans. That day the plant's workers, clearly prepared for the announcement, occupied the plant, and they have been there ever since. The owners claim that Embotelladora Guatemalteca is bankrupt, but even local businessmen agree that the real intention of the closing is to break Guatemala's strongest union. Given Guatemala's violent political climate, in which frequent murders of trade unionists have driven practically the entire orga-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JUSTICE FOR ALL.

Our civil justice system is in serious trouble.

If total litigation cost exceeds the amount of money received by a plaintiff, something is very wrong. If an injury most people think of as minor brings a higher award than a fatal accident, nothing makes sense. If a simple lawsuit takes years to resolve, everybody loses.

Chief Justice Warren E. Burger has noted, "...there has been a slowly–all too slowly–developing awareness that the traditional litigation process has become too cumbersome, too expensive, and also burdened by many other disadvantages."

Can anything be done? We think it can.

We are the Insurance Information Institute, action and information center for the property and casualty insurance industry.

Our member companies are vitally involved in the issue of civil justice. Their efforts to keep their customers' insurance prices down are hindered by high legal costs and unpredictable court awards.

What the public wants.

We've sponsored a Gallup survey to determine how people feel about civil justice today.

The results show that the public believes considerable delays occur in bringing cases to trial. They think that judges, not juries, should set awards in civil lawsuits. And they oppose punitive damages beyond full compensation for a loss.

Taking positive steps.

To do something about these problems, our industry has joined with others to create coalitions of concerned citizens–including executives, lawyers, manufacturers, and health care professionals. Working together, they are developing new solutions to the civil justice crisis. In state after state, their ideas are being translated into action.

The ideals of civil justice will be served far better by courts that move more quickly, cost taxpayers less, and decide awards on a more consistent basis.

It's in the interests of everyone.

Our new report, *The Civil Justice Crisis,* examines reforms now being proposed. It tells how you can get involved. We'd like you to have a copy free of charge.

1K

Insurance Information Institute
110 William Street
New York, NY 10038

Please send me a free copy of
The Civil Justice Crisis

Name

Address

City State Zip

Insurance Information Institute
A nonprofit action and information center

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nized labor movement underground, the occupation is a bold and surprising move. It also seems, thus far at least, to be a successful one.

On Sunday, May 27, Coca-Cola's Latin American subsidiary reached a broad agreement with the Guatemalan union. The job security of the occupying workers is guaranteed while Coca-Cola searches for a new franchise operator; in the meantime, the occupation will continue. Under the new owner, all the workers will keep their jobs for the first sixty days of operation. If by then sales have not returned to the level of two hundred thousand cases a month, the plant's managers will have the right to lay off up to one hundred workers. In addition, the workers have been paid the equivalent of approximately ten weeks' wages for cleaning and maintaining the plant since February. Most important, the agreement guarantees the continued existence of the union. To Rodolfo Robles, the secretary general of the union, the initial success of the occupation marks the "rebirth of the Guatemalan labor movement."

The workers and Guatemala's powerful business class recognize that the fate of the union will help determine the future of labor organizing and political freedom in Guatemala. Both have been severely curtailed since the C.I.A. arranged the overthrow of the reformist, democratic government of Jacobo Arbenz in 1954. The coup cut off Guatemala's brief experiment in encouraging unions and peasant cooperatives and installed the alliance of military men, wealthy landowners, and deeply conservative politicians that has ruled the country ever since. Over the past thirty years each spate of union activism has been followed by bloody reprisals, which quell the opposition in the short run but eventually lead to more popular protest. The last cycle ended in 1980 when Guatemala's National Workers' Confederation (C.N.T.) was forced underground following the kidnapping of its entire leadership. The Coca-Cola workers' partial but real victory has inspired renewed organizing efforts throughout the country, and the military government of Brigadier General Oscar Humberto Mejía Víctores is responding to the challenge with traditional tactics of intimidation and violence.

GUATEMALAN UNIONISTS have long seen the Coca-Cola plant as a symbol of repression. John Clinton Trotter, an attorney from Houston who came to Guatemala in 1954, managed the Guatemala City franchise from 1956 to 1980, and earned an undisputed reputation as one of the toughest union-busters around—no easy feat in Guatemala. Between 1968 and 1980, apparently twelve workers at the Guatemala City bottling plant were kidnapped or murdered for their efforts to organize a union and negotiate a collective bargaining agreement. In 1975, when the workers finally succeeded in forming a union, Trotter refused to recognize it. According to a story by Alan Riding in the June 6, 1980, *New York Times*, Trotter told friends that organized labor was synonymous with communism. Riding quotes one union leader, now in exile, as saying that Trotter offered union organizers a $50,000 bribe to cease their efforts, adding that he would give the money to the government to suppress the union if they did not accept it; the organizers refused. Trotter finally reached a pact with the union in February 1978, disbanding a rival management-sponsored employees' association and implicitly recognizing the workers' organization. He refused, however, to allow the word "union" to be mentioned in the document.

In any case, Trotter fulfilled his promise to engage the Guatemalan government in an effort to crush the Coca-Cola workers' union. According to union sources, a meeting was held in October 1978 between the chief of the Guatemalan National Police, the plant's managers, and members of the rival management-sponsored union—which continued to exist despite the February 1978 accord. During the meeting, the police chief reportedly vowed that the union would be destroyed within six months. By the end of 1978, Trotter had hired three Guatemalan Army lieutenants to serve as the directors of the plant's personnel, warehouse, and security. According to the workers, Trotter and the three officers each made numerous death threats—and workers began to die. In December 1978 the union's financial secretary, Pedro Quevedo y Quevedo, was shot to death on his delivery route. Hours before Quevedo's murder, ten uniformed soldiers reinforced the unit of military police guarding the plant. Another driver, Manuel Lopez Balam, who according to his wife had received three death threats from plant manager Lieutenant Francisco Javier Rodas, was murdered on his regular route on April 5, 1979, by unknown assailants armed with knives and an iron tube. On December 13, 1979, Lieutenant Rodas warned the entire executive committee of the union that it would not live to see the benefits of another union agreement. At the same time, a death list was circulated by the Secret Anti-Communist Army—a well-known death squad which, according to Amnesty International, is no more than a front for the Guatemalan security forces. In addition to the union's executive committee, the list also warned of the imminent assassination of the union's three-member advisory committee.

BY THIS TIME the murders of Coca-Cola workers had attracted the attention of international church and human rights groups as well as the International Union of Food and Allied Workers, based in Geneva. The I.U.F. began to press Coca-Cola headquarters in Atlanta to take action to stop the violence. Coca-Cola, however, insisted that it could not dictate labor relations to its franchise operator, and resisted I.U.F. demands to revoke Trotter's license. The I.U.F. went ahead with its threat to sponsor an international boycott of Coke. Coke sales began to decline, especially in Scandinavian countries, and in February 1980 Coca-Cola announced that it would search for a new owner for the plant, asking the international union to call off its actions. Fearing that Coca-Cola's announcement was a stalling tactic, the I.U.F. continued its campaign.

In the first six months of 1980, while Coca-Cola was insisting that a solution was imminent, four more union

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

members were murdered. Secretary General Marlon Mendizabal was machine-gunned to death at a bus stop two blocks from the plant. Five Coca-Cola workers were kidnapped from a massive labor rally in Guatemala City on May 1, 1980; the mutilated bodies of two of them were found a few days later a few miles outside of the capital. The other three were later released. Edgar Rene Aldama, a member of the union's executive committee, was gunned down on the plant grounds in view of police guards on June 20, 1980, and his body was carried away in a car owned by the bottling plant.

On that same day, twenty-seven leaders of the National Workers' Confederation—including two leaders of the Coca-Cola union—met in the C.N.T.'s headquarters in downtown Guatemala City to seek a solution to the turmoil at the plant. As uniformed National Police officers sealed off the block, armed plainclothesmen driving a jeep smashed through the door of the C.N.T.'s office, located one block from the National Palace and the Presidential Guard barracks. In full view of numerous witnesses, all twenty-seven leaders were dragged off in unmarked Toyota jeeps. None have been heard from since.

IN JULY 1980, pressure from the I.U.F.'s boycott led Coca-Cola to take a step unprecedented in international labor relations: an agreement was negotiated between a multinational company and an international union. On July 8 Harold T. Circuit, president of Coca-Cola, Latin America, met with I.U.F. general secretary Dan Gallin in Geneva. Coca-Cola had already arranged for the sale of the Guatemalan bottling plant to a consortium headed by a U.S.-born resident of Mexico, Anthony Zash, and his Mexican partner, Roberto Mendez. But Coca-Cola also promised to retain an unspecified measure of "management control" over the plant until 1985, to guarantee "full respect of trade union rights," and to inform the I.U.F. of any new "potentially serious and destructive conflict" involving the plant. In addition, with Coca-Cola's encouragement, Zash and Mendez agreed to set up a fund to provide a monthly stipend of $30-$50 each to the families of the murdered union leaders. The agreement brought the company and the union four years of an official and uneasy labor peace. Zash's announcement of bankruptcy last February broke the 1980 agreement and ended that interlude.

Conversations with half a dozen managers of multinational corporation subsidiaries in Guatemala City produced a remarkable consensus: the closing of Embotelladora Guatemalteca S.A. had little to do with bankruptcy and much to do with the desire to get rid of "the bad element," as one businessman described the union. "The Coca-Cola closing will have to soften up the unions a bit," a corporate financial manager told me, explaining that in Guatemala, "the unions are a road for the Communists."

Most of the plant's financial records were removed by Zash when he announced the closing. But a study of what remained of EGSA's books by Locker, Abrecht Associates, Inc., a consulting firm hired by the I.U.F., cast further doubt on the claim of bankruptcy. Stephen Abrecht, the company's vice president, who spent three days in the plant poring over the company's chaotic financial records, told me that the firm was not bankrupt; rather, "it was bankrupted by mismanagement and conflicts of interest." Substantial amounts of money had been transferred from EGSA to six Coca-Cola distributorships in the Guatemalan countryside through overstating of expenses and understating of prices. Though separate legal entities, the six distributorships were owned by Zash and Mendez. They also had an interest in a number of restaurants, which received $100,000 in 1982—allegedly to guarantee the exclusive sale of EGSA beverages in a year where the restaurants only bought $20,000 in soft drinks from EGSA. In 1983 alone, checks totaling $1 million listed in the plant's books as repayment of principal and interest owed to Coca-Cola (who acted as the plant's major creditor) were actually made out to and endorsed by individuals, including Roberto Mendez and Zash's bodyguard. A Coca-Cola spokesman in Atlanta, Carlton Curtis, told me, "We were never paid a penny of the principal" owed Coca-Cola by EGSA.

THE MILITANT spirit of this year's occupation has prompted the most union activism in Guatemala since 1980. In an effort to help organize support for the Coca-Cola workers, twenty-seven labor leaders formed a steering committee in late February charged with the task of building a National Confederation of Trade Union Unity (CONUS). The confederation will be modeled after a broad labor coalition that coordinated activities among workers, students, peasants, and community groups from 1976 until 1980 when the repression drove it underground. In addition, two other unions facing layoffs have followed the example of the Coca-Cola workers and occupied their work places, both were able to reach agreements with management. Meanwhile, Coca-Cola workers plan to celebrate their victory by organizing a march through the streets of the capital as soon as the plant is ready to renew operations. "We are going to invite many other unions and organizations," Robles explained, "because this victory decidedly belongs to all Guatemalan workers, not only to us." This is another bold step, considering that as many as ninety workers were kidnapped from Guatemala's last labor demonstration, on May 1, 1980.

The Coca-Cola workers have been afforded some immunity from the standard government treatment of trade union militants because they work for a multinational company concerned about its international image. On May 7 Coca-Cola's director for employee and industrial relations, Michael Semrau, told a meeting of I.U.F. officials in Copenhagen that the company had urged the Guatemalan government to treat the occupation with the "utmost restraint."

Other labor organizers have been less fortunate. Seventeen trade union members disappeared between November and March. Of the twenty-seven members of the CONUS steering committee formed in late February, four

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have been kidnapped. One was released and has fled the country. Relatives of the workers occupying the Coca-Cola plant have also been harassed; one was kidnapped, held for nineteen days under intense questioning about his relatives in the Coca-Cola plant, and released only after the intercession of a U.S. trade union delegation that included Patt Derian, the Carter Administration's Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights.

The revitalization of the Guatemalan labor movement could not have come at a less auspicious time. According to the Guatemalan press and international human rights groups, the number of murders and disappearances of civilians since General Mejía took power in a coup in August 1983 has increased dramatically. Even the conservative Guatemala City daily *La Hora* said in May, "In spite of the fact that the authorities say the violence has diminished, the truth is it has increased in a terrifying way."

Although no Coca-Cola workers have come to harm since the plant occupation, the union recognizes that its efforts to use its own victory to inspire wider labor activism is a dangerous undertaking. Rodolfo Robles insists, however, that the leading role of the union is "absolutely necessary": "This union has always been the vanguard of Guatemala's unions. If it were to fail, any other organizing efforts would be easily destroyed in a very short time."

The risks of labor's renewed struggle in Guatemala are vividly captured in the cafeteria of the Coca-Cola plant. Workers linger at long tables drinking their coffee, the wall around them dominated by eight larger-than-life photographs of murdered union leaders. Twenty-two-year-old Marlon Mendizabal, the union's third martyred secretary general, stares blankly at the camera, a long-neck Coke bottle in one hand. To his right Manuel Lopez Balam grins broadly as he raises his right fist in an unmistakable gesture of defiance beneath a giant poster reading "*Disfrute* Coca-Cola" ("Enjoy Coca-Cola"). One of the current union leaders proudly told a visitor last March, "When I'm dead, my photograph can join the others."

ANNE MANUEL

Anne Manuel, a New York writer, worked for two years at a weekly business publication where she covered Central America and Colombia.

Feeling good about greed in Gomorrah.

THE G.O.P. 'ME DECADE'

BY SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL

Dallas

RONALD REAGAN'S hypocrisy works so effectively because he doesn't know he's a hypocrite. At least that's how some of his senior advisers explain it. While he rails against the breakdown of traditional values, his political operatives point to his daughter Patti, the antinuclear activist married to her yoga instructor; his son Ron, the ballet-dancer-turned-freelance-writer; and First Daughter Maureen, the divorced feminist. Reagan's handlers understand that in the eyes of voters the President's public intolerance is softened and contradicted by his private tolerance. Without his hypocrisy, they assert, he would be perceived as brittle and threatening. And because he lacks self-consciousness about his inconsistency, he can perform his political chores with convincing sincerity.

The hypocrisy that works so well for him on social issues also helps him sell his economic policies. His federal deficit encapsulates his hypocrisy here. He religiously condemns the sin, but it's what's making him happy. He has MasterCarded the recovery: reelect now, pay later.

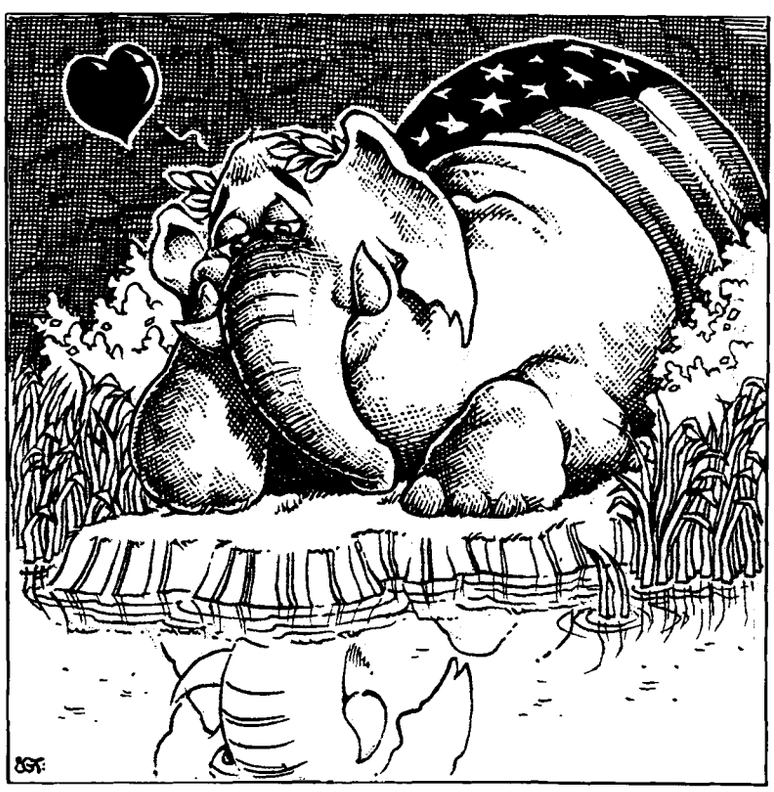
To conservatives such as Reagan, Keynesianism has been more than an economic doctrine; the cultural consequences of Keynesianism meant the destruction of the Protestant ethic and the self-regulating market. If Keynesianism worked, then the old gospel of success must be humbug. By deficit spending, one could get something now and never be punished. Prosperity no longer could be traced to the moral character of striving individuals as in Horatio Alger's novellas, the kind Reagan grew up on. Thus, only by suppressing big government could America be restored. Then wealth would again be dependent on positive thinking. Reaganism is the mind cure for the bad dream of Keynesianism. When we believe, the good dreams of the past will come true. While Reagan waits for utopia, there's a free lunch.

Reagan is more a hero of consumption than production. Old-fashioned production means sacrificing oneself to an impersonal process, while modern consumption means personal transformation through appearances. Reagan represents consumption without guilt. And through his rise in the entertainment industry and the leisure class, he's been ironically able to convince us that he embodies the old ideology of a productive class. His free-market

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rhetoric gives a license to unfettered consumption. The clue is that pain and denial, the stock-in-trade of economic puritanism, never figure in Reagan's formula. Some of his top aides appreciate that this juncture between his words and results accounts for much of his political magic. He allows us to have whatever we want so long as we give credence to an obsolescent ideology. He's a permissive father. Ask Patti.

The two sides of Reagan don't invalidate each other, but exist in a comfortable coalition. Only he holds the disparate themes together, as the Republican Convention demonstrated. The parade of 1988 hopefuls signaled that the party will splinter when Reagan moves on. And more than future factionalism was obvious: the incoherence of Reaganism itself was revealed. When not enveloped by Reagan's most relaxed persona, the raw themes stood out in frightful relief. For the first three nights of the convention, intolerance and greed were on conspicuous display. Then Reagan abandoned his attractive hypocrisy and joined in the spirit of conservatism triumphant.



CARTOON BY BEN SARGENT FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC

The convention was the apotheosis of the "Me Decade." For the Republicans, the rich have the same function that the poor have for the Democrats: they are objects of compassion and even pity. Since a majority of G.O.P. delegates had annual incomes in excess of $50,000, their concern was empathetic. For them, a vote for Reagan is a vote for immediate gratification. In this respect, they are true legatees of the 1960s.

The 1960s promised both self-fulfillment and community, but a community without any sense of duty or public virtue, a community whose ethereal harmony was natural. Since this harmony was elusive, it couldn't be sustained. The impulse for community remains, however, in partially bureaucratized form in the Democratic constituency groups. In the meantime, the self-fulfillment aspect has triumphed within the Republican Party. And Reagan has emerged as the avatar of a new age of narcissism, where the pursuit of happiness has been reduced to the ruthless pursuit of money. What hedonism and unbridled capitalism have in common is the repudiation of the social contract. When the conservatives say "Me," they don't say it like the Me Generation, satirized by Tom Wolfe, who meant a supra-consciousness beyond the material world, a cosmic union in the noösphere. When they say "Me," they mean me, myself, and mine. They don't mean anything as altruistic as an interest group, which inevitably means others. They're not an interest group, but America; and they define America as themselves. Others can join them by becoming them. All one needs is the membership fee.

Dallas was an inspired choice for the convention. The town's boosters depict it as a wide open frontier, but it's tightly controlled at the top by a self-perpetuating elite. It's a city of blinding heat, freeways, and mirrored-glass buildings; it makes L.A. look like Cambridge. (One wag said, "The only reflective thing here is the glass.") Most important, Dallas is both a place and a fantasy. There's Dallas and there's *Dallas*. After the Republican platform committee finished bashing the remnants of moderate Republicanism—just as J.R. crushes Cliff Barnes every week—its members basked at an exclusive party at Southfork Ranch, the set of the mythical Ewings. Southfork, a shrine to greed, has become the most popular Dallas tourist attraction, more popular now than Dealey Plaza.

The convention opened with the bombastic presentation of Olympic gold medalists. "U.S.A.! U.S.A.!" Just as U.S.A. wasted the opposition in the Olympic games, the Republicans would waste the Democrats. Thus began a systematic effort to portray the Democratic Party as somehow illegitimate and un-American. The intent was not merely to discredit Walter Mondale. In order to build a Republican majority, the Democrats would have to be thoroughly smashed. Through almost every major speech ran a theme of the Democrats' suspect patriotism.

The true keynoter was Jeane Kirkpatrick, the United Nations ambassador. She traced virtually all foreign policy problems to "the last Democratic Administration." Reagan's inauguration marked "a reaffirmation of historic American ideals" and "confidence in the legitimacy and success of American institutions." (Did Jimmy Carter believe American institutions were illegitimate?) All the Rea-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gan Administration's foreign policy difficulties were attributed to external causes. And making matters "dangerous" is the "blame America first crowd"—namely, the "San Francisco Democrats," whose convention wasn't that of real Democrats. Kirkpatrick, not Mondale, is the legitimate heir of Hubert Humphrey. We must end "endless self-criticism," stop feeling guilty, and defend ourselves.

THE NEXT NIGHT, former President Gerald Ford suggested, "Let's save a lot of time and make the reelection of President Reagan unanimous!" (That would be one way to end "self-criticism.") But Ford was too lily-livered for many conservatives. On his special evening, the National Conservative Political Action Committee, a New Right group that targets liberals for termination with extreme prejudice, held what amounted to a counterconvention at Nelson Bunker Hunt's Circle T Ranch, a Texas Bavaria. This was not the Dallas Museum of Art crowd. Sides of longhorn steer—the hors d'oeuvres—basted over hot coals. Indians in war bonnets danced. Cowboys performed rope tricks, a stagecoach rolled guests around a trail, and a huge brahma bull was saddled up for rides: *Yahoo*! (Honest—one woman, on the bull, yelled "*Yahoo!*") Celebrities circulated. "I loved you in *Planet of the Apes*," a woman gushed to Charlton Heston. "Moses, Moses!" beseeched another fan.

After gorging on barbecue, the almost two thousand guests entered a gigantic air-conditioned white tent about as big as Texas Stadium for dinner. At the tent's entrance a NCPAC videotape of the history of the world, ending in its salvation by Reagan's election, was on sale. Suddenly, in slow motion, we see Reagan shot by John Hinckley: "A gunman's bullet almost did what the President's critics have not been able to do." But soon Reagan's smiling again. Jerry Falwell of Moral Majority walks by and catches Reagan's face on the screen. "Is that real?" he asked. Or is it Memorex? "Oh, he's not here yet?"

Inside the big top, plates of cold tenderloin were served, followed by NCPAC leader, Terry Dolan, with short hair, manicured moustache, tight knit shirt, stacked-heel boots, and tight jeans, a pair of aviator frame sunglasses inserted neatly into his back pocket, who pranced up to the microphone. He delivered a diatribe against the press, featuring a personal attack on *Washington Post* columnist Mary McGrory, a representative agent of demonic forces. To these conservatives, the press is the moral equivalent of communism. Pat Boone, the singer, tried to lighten things up: "How do you like this air conditioning? Who said Republicans don't care about the environment? If we don't like it, we change it." Then Chad Everett, star of "Medical Center" and a genius-level cretin, made a speech: "I want you to help me to invite you to welcome me. . . . " Finally, Bob Hope appeared: "Four, three, two, one. I'm just testing the microphone. We bomb in five minutes. I hope I don't." Hope led the crowd on a tour through the mausoleum of popular culture: *Thanks for the memories*. And then there was a mad rush for the valet parking.

The next day, Republican women held a proper luncheon for the First Lady at the pharaonic Anatole Hotel, whose three marble atriums are sufficiently large to serve as a museum for the pyramids. The main speaker was Joan Rivers, the laughing hyena of Republicanism. No pathos about capital shortage here. When Reagan talks about a "city on a hill," she knows he's talking about Beverly Hills. "I never do housework," she said. "That's the fun of being a Republican." The ladies tittered nervously. They weren't sure whether to laugh or express shock. Rivers's heartfelt vulgarity was shattering the veneer of hypocrisy.

That night, Barry Goldwater, who suffered the lowest moment of recent G.O.P. history, crowed at the highest moment. He labeled every war in the twentieth century a "Democrat war," and charged: "Don't you Democrat leaders try to tell me that Americans don't honor and love America!" His argument was, in substance, no different from Kirkpatrick's, although it lacked her artifice. Still, he was there first.

AFTER GOLDWATER'S fulmination, Reagan was nominated. Thousands of red, white, and blue balloons descended from the ceiling. Within minutes the delegates committed balloon genocide in a burst of enthusiasm and popping. Not a single balloon was taken prisoner. Reagan had come to Dallas, to the Anatole Hotel, that afternoon. He proclaimed the G.O.P to be "America's party," like that model of corporate efficiency—the Dallas Cowboys. But if the Republican Party is America's, then what's the Democratic Party? Why should we even have another party?

The next morning, August 23, Reagan addressed a prayer breakfast of more than 10,000 supporters. In his speech he offered a profoundly confused political theology. He claimed that the Founding Fathers "saw the state, in fact, as a form of moral order." But, in the 1960s, "we began to make great steps toward secularizing our nation." The secularizers are "intolerant" and "care only for the interests of the state." But wasn't the federal government "a form of moral order"? Did it lose its moral underpinnings in the 1960s? How can those who believe the American identity is not reflected in the national government also assert that that government was invested in the beginning with divine purpose? Does it follow that if there's prayer in public schools conservatives will believe that government possesses an imminent morality? Reagan then declared politics and morality, which has its foundation "in religion," to be "inseparable," contradicting Jefferson's injunction against theocracy. "Without God," Reagan said, "there is no virtue." It must follow that those who are "secularizing" are without virtue. They deprive America of virtue. They are against God. "America's party" is attempting to restore our rightful relationship with God. Reagan's fellow worshippers roared approval of the logic of holy war.

By the time of Reagan's acceptance speech, replete with

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more Democrat-bashing—"unconscionable. . . . cease its obstructionist ways"—some of his political advisers began to think that the harsh tone of the convention was not working for them. The Democratic Party, after all, is still the majority party. To succeed, Republicans must cajole the opposition to their side. By focusing the brunt of the attack on the party, the convention speakers may have reminded Democrats—and independents—why they are not Republicans. When the first post-convention polls came in, Reagan gained virtually no ground—an extraordinarily poor performance, even with his large lead. He had apparently reached his limit. Some Reagan advisers worry that his hard-edged stance on social issues might prevent some Democrats from voting for him. Reagan the laid-back, Reagan the tolerant hypocrite, Reagan the Me Decade dreamer, is the Reagan who wins biggest.

Mondale in his call for a "new realism," celebration of "hard work," and insistence on new taxes, seems to believe we must punish ourselves for our binge of self-indulgence under Reagan. Mondale's problem isn't that he overpromises, but that he underpromises. Liberals used to be the advocates of leisure, not misplaced puritanism. Even farsighted labor leaders such as Walter Reuther thought cogently about how leisure would liberate the working class. Now, through a weird alchemy, conservatives under Reagan have appropriated leisure from the liberals. While Mondale presents work as bitter medicine, Reagan says it's the road to self-fulfillment, even superstardom. Reagan is Miller Time, Mondale is the factory whistle. Reagan promises that just possibly, if you dream hard enough, you can be rich, famous, not work hard, and live almost forever—like him. In the end, Americans want the pursuit of happiness, not blood, sweat, and tears. Almost always, the party of leisure wins elections. In recent history, that is usually the party of deficits. Reagan condemns what sustains him, and dreams on.

About a month before the convention, according to a top political aide, Reagan screened the movie *Ghostbusters* at Camp David. "That was great!" the President said. "It was better than movies when I was making them. You know why? If they had made *Ghostbusters* back then, the whole thing would've been a dream and the guy would've woken up at the end."

All power to the imagination!

The governor and the bishops appeal to heaven.

THE CHURCH-STATE DEBATE

BY CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

MARIO CUOMO, governor of New York and a Catholic, has recently engaged the hierarchy of his church in a debate on church and state. The dialogue went something like this: On June 24, the new archbishop of New York, John G. O'Connor, said in a television interview, "I don't see how a Catholic in good conscience can vote for a candidate who explicitly supports abortion." This turned out to be something of a last straw for the governor. "The church has never been this aggressively involved [in politics]," he told *The New York Times*. "Look at what happened in my last legislative session—the Catholic church killed the E.R.A." And charged Cuomo, "Now you have the archbishop of New York saying that no Catholic can vote for Ed Koch . . . Pat Moynihan or Mario Cuomo—anybody who disagrees with him on abortion." O'Connor returned the serve. He was "surprised" at the governor's statement. He protested that "my sole responsibility is to present as clearly as I can the formal, official teaching of the Catholic church. I leave to those interested in such teachings whether or not the public statements of office-holders and candidates accord with this teaching." And he insisted that he had no "desire to evaluate the qualifications of any individual of any political party for any public office." The governor graciously accepted this "clarification" and expressed pleasure that the archbishop agrees that the church should not tell Catholics how to vote. Deuce. Then, out of the blue, a passing shot from Bishop James W. Malone, president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. Cuomo is personally opposed to abortion but does not believe that as a public official he should impose his views on others. Speaking for the United States Catholic Conference, Malone issued a statement saying: "We reject the idea that candidates can satisfy the requirements of rational analysis in saying their personal views should not influence their policy decisions. The implied dichotomy—between personal morality and public policy—is simply not logically tenable." Advantage bishops. Cuomo is scheduled to respond in an address at Notre Dame in mid-September.

The Reaganite reading of this particular inquiry into the boundary between church and state has been characteristically enlightened. "Shame on you, Mario Cuomo,"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thundered Senator Paul Laxalt from the podium of the Republican National Convention. "The Democratic governor of New York goes out of his way to attack the Catholic archbishop of New York." There was a time in this country, echoed Reagan at a prayer breakfast the next day, when "a politician who spoke to or of [religious leaders] with a lack of respect would not long survive in the political arena." There was also a time when a lapsed Protestant pretending to be more Catholic than the Pope would have been hooted out of the political arena. But no matter. The President saw a political opening and took it.

Not that either the governor or the bishops are innocent of political motive. Their discourse did not take place in a monastery, but in *The New York Times*. The archbishop's politics are plain: newly installed in New York, he was declaring his intention to pursue a highly active role in political issues he deems important. The governor's politics are more complicated. He spoke up, he told a Washington news conference, because "the whole question of religion in politics is in danger of being co-opted by a single kind of religious group"—meaning the fundamentalists who surround Ronald Reagan. "You have a President who has wrapped himself in religiosity . . . used religion aggressively, as a tool."

AND SO he has. The President, running for reelection on a platform of peace, prosperity, and piety, is pushing "social issues" very hard. At that same Dallas breakfast he said, "Those who are fighting to make sure voluntary prayer is not returned to classrooms [are] intolerant of religion. . . . They refuse to tolerate its importance in our lives." Now, this is a tendentious and dangerous charge. (To say nothing of the language: the use of the peculiar locution "tolerate its importance," to mean "mandate," is Orwellian.) In a pluralist democracy, the charge of religious intolerance should be reserved for the gravest of offenses, of which opposition to "voluntary" school prayer is not one. That position rests on the view that school prayer constitutes state-imposed religion. If Reagan's intent is to promote religion-in-general as opposed to irreligion (a not unreasonable position: see "America's Holy War" TNR, April 9), then he should support silent prayer, which is denominationally neutral. But his intent is to curry favor with the Christian Right, whose expressed aim is to use the cause of religion-in-general as a wedge to promote, using state power whenever possible, its particular brand of Christian fundamentalism.

Reagan's pandering on religion has been a political success. And Cuomo understands why: "brandishing religious values," Reagan is "moving into a vacuum." The usual Democratic response is either to ignore the religious issue or to denounce Mr. Reagan for mixing religion and politics. Secularist appeals, however, don't sell very well. Hence Cuomo's approach, at once more subtle and bold: to pick up the challenge and reclaim religion for liberals by redefining it to include such concerns as peace, compassion, and care for the needy. It is a risky strategy. He wants to endow the liberal agenda with religious sanction by advancing liberalism as a fulfillment of the social gospel; but then he has to defend liberalism from religious charges that it offends the rest of the gospel. That's why he confronted the charge at its sharpest point, on the issue that has made liberals look anti-religious: abortion. He claimed first that the church was overstepping the proper First Amendment bounds in its aggressive opposition to abortion. And, second, he claimed his own independence, as a public official, from church teachings on the issue.

SO MUCH for the politics of the debate. What of its merits? Unlike the President, Cuomo is serious about his religion. And he has raised two serious questions. What is the proper role of the church in the democratic political arena? And what is the proper role of the believer in that arena?

First, the role of the church. Cuomo criticized O'Connor for going too far—i.e., opposing candidates—in pushing his anti-abortion view; he was careful not to criticize the *principle* of church involvement in political affairs. Others are not so scrupulous. Politicians on both sides of the aisle are constantly declaring themselves shocked—shocked!—to find the church meddling in politics. When the bishops issued their pastoral letter on nuclear weapons, there was much bleating on the right from people who have no trouble with Jerry Falwell's discourses on the dangers of homosexual rights. And vice versa. The protests are selective; they await the church taking a position opposite one's own. If anything, the left, which fancies itself the defender of the First Amendment against right-wing depredations, is more hypocritical. After all, much of the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements were *run* out of churches, as was, more recently, the Jackson Presidential campaign. It was when white evangelicals, principally southern whites led by the Moral Majority, began a parallel and, in some ways, reactive involvement in politics (now, right-wing) that the loudest cries for church-state separation began to be heard. And it won't do to argue that the white evangelicals are trying to dictate to people how to conduct their lives; the civil rights movement brought about a transformation in social life and mores as profound as any in American history.

Nor was there much protest when the high Protestant churches began falling away from their traditional, lofty espousal of strict church-state separation (an economical position for churches whose members once effectively controlled the political system anyway). The left had few complaints when, for example, the National Council of Churches took up its new dispensation of limousine liberation theology.

To his credit, Cuomo seems to accept that there should be one set of rules—namely that in a tolerant, pluralist democratic polity, a church may add its voice to those shaping public policy. But Cuomo draws a line sharply at political partisanship. He agrees with the bishops that the church has the right to teach principles, and even to eluci-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

date policy. But he was scaring them off from endorsing candidates.

It may be a question of nuance, but I think Cuomo has the nuance right. Churches are not quite like democracy's other voluntary associations: one doesn't check into and out of the Catholic Church the way one does, say, the League of Women Voters. For one thing, no one has yet been born into the League. The church is also accorded certain privileges and immunities, like immunity from taxation, in return for which it is reasonable to demand that, beyond principle and policy, it not engage in partisanship, which involves the allocation of power.

Cuomo's parry was salutary. One would again, however, wish for some evenhandedness. On July 14 *The Washington Post* reported that "bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal church at their denomination's quadrennial meeting in Kansas City urged church leaders to organize the church's three million members to help defeat Ronald Reagan this fall." No protest. Asked why an exception should be made for black churches, Father Robert Drinan, president of Americans for Democratic Action, explained that this is "their tradition." True. And what if Reverend Falwell claims that endorsing candidates is part of his? On what grounds, then, to deny him his tax exemption?

Interestingly, some conservative Catholics want the church to stay out of more than just the business of endorsing candidates. They want it out of politics altogether. They wish it to leave politics to the churchgoers. Quentin L. Quade writes in *Catholicism in Crisis*, "Religion achieves its political vitality and its importance through the religionist-as-citizen," and not as a church-in-action. It is also more likely to achieve political success that way. When the church, as church, takes up a cause, like abortion, it gratuitously hands opponents of that cause new ammunition. They can portray anti-abortion as a church-dictated position, fight on constitutional grounds of protecting state from church, and thus be spared having to argue the issue on its merits. Quade calls "the direct intrusion of the Catholic hierarchy, as hierarchy, in the political process [a] case of self-imposed damage to the cause of anti-abortion."

Surely it is no more than a species of anti-religious prejudice to say that those who advocate a public policy position derived from a moral principle which in turn derives from religious belief are violating constitutional norms (mixing church and state), while those who derive their policy choices from moral premises acquired elsewhere (where?) are engaged in legitimate political action. Nonetheless such nonsensical readings of the First Amendment, heard often in the abortion debate, are a fact of political life—and yet another argument for organized churches to speak, if not softly, at least generally.

BUT WHAT ARE the political obligations of the believer in a tolerant, religiously pluralist society? That is the other half of the Cuomo-bishops debate, and by far the more complex one. They pose the question this way: Can a believer, Catholic or otherwise, say, "I accept the teaching of my church on abortion, but I refuse to make it into law?"

Does the logic of religious toleration require the subordination of religious beliefs in the public arena? There is an easy answer to that question, and Cuomo does not give it. That answer, offered by John F. Kennedy among others, is: Of course it does. I am a servant of the state first, and am sworn to let nothing supersede that commitment. Cuomo does not say that. Instead, he has publicly said, "I am a governor, I am a Democrat, but I am a Catholic first—my soul is more important to me than my body." This is something Kennedy would not have said because religion for him was more a matter of affiliation than belief.

THERE IS MUCH to be said for Kennedy's way. Undoubtedly, it is to the falling away of belief that we owe much of modern-day religious toleration. Chesterton said, perhaps unkindly, that tolerance is the virtue of people who do not believe anything. But still a virtue. Historian J. W. Allen draws a distinction between two kinds of tolerance. The lesser form, for which he reserves the word toleration, is the "legal indulgence of deviations from established orthodoxy largely because of skeptical indifference to questions of religious belief or worship." We might say: Kennedy's way. It is not Cuomo's. Cuomo is appealing to what Allen calls (true) tolerance: "A mental outlook" based on belief and yet "respectful of all opinion on every subject of thought." Cuomo is not saying: I was born a Catholic, but I will act no differently from an uncommitted, unchurched American. He says that his soul is more important to him than his body, and his soul is Catholic. Can he then at the same time say: I accept church teaching on abortion, but I refuse to make it into law?

No, argues Bishop Malone, it is a logical impossibility. The church teaching on abortion is that abortion is murder, and it is absurd to say, "I am personally against murder, but I will not impose my views on anyone else." (This is not just the position of the clergy. To take only one example among politicians: Joseph Califano, a Catholic and the former Secretary of Health and Human Services, testified vigorously in Congress, in his capacity as Secretary of H.H.S., against federal funding of abortions.)

Is Malone right? The usual refuge is to invoke a distinction between "private" and "public" belief. When Geraldine Ferraro, for example, says she's "personally opposed" to abortion, she means this: I wouldn't have one myself and I wouldn't want my children to have one, but I won't go around telling the people whether to have one or not. Unfortunately, Ferraro is confusing belief with practice. If a person says, "I refuse to own slaves, but I won't go around telling others what to do," it is correct to say that he does not practice slavery, but can one really say he is opposed to it?

Ferraro does not practice abortion, but she is mistaken if she believes that this means she is against it. To say "X is wrong for me" (practice) is not the same as saying "X is categorically wrong" (belief). Belief, unlike practice, must be universal. Furthermore, one minimal test of the sincerity of even a "private" belief on abortion is whether one

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tries to persuade (not coerce) others *voluntarily* to renounce it. (Ferraro does not pass this test.) But sincerity apart, does not such a belief commit one further—to try to outlaw abortion?

For those who say no, there are several possible defenses. One is based on democratic representational theory. A governor does not always act on his beliefs, religiously derived or otherwise. Often, as a representative of the people, he does what he thinks *they* want, even if he disapproves. A governor may forgo the constitutional exercise of a veto, or even of the power of commutation, out of respect for the principle of majoritarianism.

Now, that might explain why, as an executive, Cuomo might legitimately refuse to veto, say, public funding of abortions. It does not explain why he doesn't fight to change the law. Nor can he respond: my restrictive theory of representation extends to legislation, too; a representative is required to faithfully reflect his constituents' views, and not his own; a majority of my constituents, even perhaps a majority of my Catholic constituents, are pro-choice, so I must reflect their views, despite my personal opposition. That still doesn't get Cuomo off the hook, because even on this narrow view, he is still obliged to try democratically to persuade his colleagues and his constituents that they are wrong and that abortion should be outlawed. Democratic theory may have a claim to his vote and his veto, but not his voice.

Which brings us to a second possible line of defense—privacy: One shouldn't even be trying to persuade others to pass such a law, because law is coercive and abortion is a private matter. Note that the privacy in question here is the public's, not the politician's. (A buried "private" belief, if contradicted by public action, is evidence simply of hypocrisy.)

NORMALLY, the privacy claim is powerful. In liberal democratic theory, to find that something is private—as the Supreme Court chose to define (early) abortion—is to make the strongest possible case that it should be outside government control. Not an absolute case, mind you. There is still a large area, from pornography to polygamy ("private morality"), that is often regulated, restricted, sometimes banned by government. Conservatives and liberals argue over whether this category should indeed be regulated. But the church argues that abortion doesn't belong in this category at all. It denies that abortion is in the remotest sense private: if the fetus is a person, abortion is a murder. That turns the abortion debate into, literally, a categorical one. And to those who accept the church's teaching on abortion, it closes the privacy defense. (The privacy defense remains open to some conservatives, who, not holding that the fetus is a person, may want to restrict abortion, as they would other offensive acts of "private morality," but are not committed to banning it.)

If not democratic theory or privacy, then what? Perhaps John Courtney Murray's notion of civil peace. In the 1950s Murray presented a conservative Catholic view of religious pluralism in America. He was writing to defend Catholicism from the charge that its universalism and authoritarianism placed it in conflict with American religious pluralism as embodied in the First Amendment. Murray was no great lover of pluralism: "Religous pluralism is against the will of God; but it is the human condition." Yet he argued that for the American Catholic, it is not only a civic obligation, but a religious duty to separate church and state and respect religious pluralism. He credited Roger Williams with having (despite himself) enunciated the relevant Catholic principle: "It is one thing to command, to conceal, to approve evil," wrote Williams, "and another thing to permit and suffer evil . . . this sufferance of permission of evil is not for its own sake, but for the sake of the good." Murray explained: "The 'good' here is the public peace." Public peace is the highest achievement of the civil law. A civil law which fosters it enjoys not just pragmatic but moral validity, and, ultimately, religious sanction. The First Amendment is not an "an article of faith," but "an article of peace."

MURRAY WAS speaking of religious belief and practice; he was explaining why a conscientious Catholic is not required to try to use the instruments of state to spread them to others. He would certainly not approve extending that principle to abortion. Nevertheless, if civil peace is indeed a religious value, then Murray's argument lends religious sanction to policies that work to preserve that peace. Non-coercion on abortion is surely such a policy. One can believe that abortion is murder and at the same time not demand laws outlawing it for everyone. The reason is that whereas normal murder is universally accepted as evil, abortion is not. So many Americans don't believe it to be evil, in fact, so many believe it—however wrongly—to be a *right*, that even if one could muster a majority to ban abortion, that would constitute a grave violation of the civil peace, which both supports and is itself supported by religious pluralism. Reinhold Niebuhr held that the highest form of religious tolerance was based on the humbling belief that "all actual expressions of religious faith are subject to historical contingency and relativity," like Allen's highest form of tolerance—"a mental outlook respectful of all opinion on every subject of thought." Even on what constitutes murder.

I doubt that this line of argument will satisfy Bishop Malone. It may not even satisfy Cuomo. The appeal to civil peace has neither the populist bite of an invocation of majoritarianism, nor the ring of righteousness of an appeal to privacy. Instead, it is a modest, conservative reading of the duty of religous toleration. It resists the anti-abortionist crusade not because that crusade begins in religious belief (a rationale truly deserving of the word "intolerant"), but because it threatens to end in an "appeal to heaven," Locke's term for revolutionary upheaval. Moreover, the appeal to civil peace does not resolve, it pacifies the conflict between religious conscience and political necessity. For zealots on either side it will have no appeal at all. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here's why the Republicans can't woo Hispanic voters.

VENDETTA IN THE VALLEY

BY PETER SKERRY

Rio Grande Valley, Texas

IT WAS not surprising the week before Texas's May 5 primary to see all three Democratic Presidential candidates visit the Rio Grande Valley. With an 80 percent ethnic Mexican majority that is overwhelmingly Democratic and increasingly mobilized, the Valley is a symbolic and actual arbiter of many statewide electoral contests. Yet also in the region that week was a much less visible but hardly less-important visitor: Tom Pauken, the director of ACTION, the federal volunteer service agency. While the Democratic hopefuls spent a combined total of about eight hours in the Valley, Pauken spent a full four days there, passing out federal grants and meeting with local notables. His ostensible purpose was to coordinate the Reagan Administration's response to last winter's devastating crop freeze. But in fact, Pauken arrived to orchestrate a campaign against Valley Interfaith, a church-based community organization that promises to bring thousands of Mexican-Americans into the political process. Pauken's attack on this group, committed to the religious and family values the President embraces, demonstrates again the Administration's penchant for putting ideological crusades ahead of political pragmatism. At the same time, Pauken's actions suggest the constraints on Republican appeals to Mexican-American voters this fall.

The setting for this political drama is a curiously misnamed place, for "the Valley," as it is known throughout Texas, is not a valley at all, but a huge plain stretching out from the Rio Grande River with not a mountain in sight. Nor is the Valley the cohesive unit suggested by its name, for its cities have had closer ties with distant trading centers than with each other. Yet the Valley does have a regional identity, based in part on its remoteness from the rest of Texas. Dallas is more than 500 miles away while the nearest large city is Monterrey—150 miles into Mexico.

Three generations ago, most of the land now under cultivation here was, in the words of Texas historian T. R. Fehrenbach, "brush and goat country," inhabited by few Mexicans or Anglos. The first settlers, many of them midwesterners who arrived around World War I, are rightly revered by their descendants as "pioneers." Among such folk it is understood that Valley agriculture has triumphed over geography and discriminatory railroad rates because of cheap Mexican labor and intense capitalization of relatively small holdings. Unlike California and Florida, large agribusiness has never taken hold here.

Today the Valley has grown to a population of over 500,000. But it remains poor and lacks a substantial middle class. Lately a hot topic of local conversation is whether the region is, at least economically, a Third World country. Residents raise the question, then argue defensively that it is not, though most observe this is only by virtue of millions in federal welfare expenditures. And now the Valley has fallen on even harder times. Already suffering from peso devaluations that crippled a thriving trade with Mexico, the region was hit last December with a prolonged freeze that wiped out the citrus crop and then killed thousands of trees. The result was a jump in unemployment from 17 to 30 percent and a depressing long-range forecast for the Valley's already struggling citrus industry. And because agricultural workers are not covered by unemployment insurance, they were thrown into destitution, exacerbated by weeks of abnormally cold weather.

Out of the babble of pleas for help, one emerged above the others—that of Valley Interfaith, a year-old federation of one Methodist and some thirty Catholic congregations strung along seventy miles of the Rio Grande. The vast majority of Interfaith's approximately 5,000 members are either Mexican-Americans or Mexican nationals, undoubtedly including a number of undocumented aliens. Some of its members are agricultural laborers; others are blue-collar workers; a few are small businessmen; and a surprising number are university-educated young people. Staffed by organizers from the late Saul Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation, Valley Interfaith is supported morally and financially by the Catholic Diocese of Brownsville. It is part of a network of similarly church-based, nonpartisan community organizations across Texas that school their members in the art of wielding power by confronting politicians on carefully chosen issues.

In January the Reagan Administration responded to the freeze by declaring the Valley a disaster area. Farmers and businessmen became eligible for various recovery loans, and otherwise ineligible farm workers received emergency unemployment benefits—the average recipient getting

Peter Skerry works at the Brookings Institution and is writing a book about Mexican-American politics.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

about $44 a week. But Valley Interfaith leaders argued that such conventional disaster relief was inadequate, pointing to the difference between natural disasters like floods and hurricanes, after which reconstruction efforts create jobs; and an agricultural freeze, which halts a growing cycle that cannot be immediately restarted.

Some within the Administration apparently agreed. Initial discussions with Democratic Congressman Kika de la Garza led to several meetings in Washington between Interfaith leaders and Administration officials who expressed a willingness to explore additional funding for the Valley. Out of these discussions emerged a proposal for a $67 million public works program that was to put over 18,000 unemployed to work at $4 an hour for four months—clearing drainage canals, resurfacing roads, and weatherizing houses. Intended to put the maximum number of people to work in the shortest time, these were to be labor-intensive, pick-and-shovel projects.

There was plenty wrong with this proposal. Focusing on quick-turn-around projects requiring little planning, it was dismissed by many as a leaf-raking boondoggle. Others demanded to know who would administer the funds. And a state official asked "how this would not become a jobs program for northern Mexico."

DESPITE ALL of these problems, the sense of crisis in the Valley was enough that Valley Interfaith was able to put together a coalition of bankers, businessmen, and politicians in support of their proposal. But in late February, when Interfaith and Administration officials met for the fourth time, things started falling apart. Earlier that same day Texas's Democratic governor, Mark White, had attacked the Administration for its inadequate response to the Valley's problems. According to Jim Drake, an Interfaith organizer, White's remarks led to a shouting match at the White House, as Administration officials tangled with White's people. Since then, relations between the two sides have gone from bad to wretched. In early March, Tom Pauken entered the scene as coordinator of the Administration's Valley initiative. Pauken is not an expert in economic development—something all parties identify as the key issue in the region. What Pauken did bring to his new job was years of loyal service as an ultraconservative Republican activist.

Pauken, a Dallas lawyer, has run two acrimonious—and unsuccessful—campaigns for Congress. He is also the producer of a documentary highly critical of Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda. Indeed, a relentless hostility toward the surviving remnants of the New Left underlies many of Pauken's recent activities. Since arriving at ACTION in 1981, he has attempted, not without justification, to undo the work of his predecessor, Carter appointee Sam Brown, who distributed ACTION funds to activist groups with roots in 1960s radicalism. So zealously has Pauken pursued his goal, however, that he now approaches the opposite extreme, and is reducing ACTION-sponsored voluntarism to the most toothlessly inoffensive good works.

PAUKEN ARRIVED in the Valley with this agenda of "defunding the left" firmly in mind. By his own account, he had made no prior arrangements to meet with Valley Interfaith, the group most actively involved in the Valley's recovery plans. Yet two rancorous meetings on the day he arrived in mid-March revealed that he had come fully prepared to deal with the group—if not exactly to negotiate with it. Pauken immediately denounced the organization's Alinsky-style tactics before its members even had the opportunity to use them on him. He then tried to discredit Jim Drake as "an outsider parachuted in from California" with an unspecified "hidden agenda."

It is interesting to note that Pauken has studiously avoided criticizing Ernesto Cortes, the moving force behind Valley Interfaith—presumably because Cortes, like Pauken, is a native Texan and hardly an "outsider." Pauken's charges ignore that Cortes and his colleagues at the I.A.F. come out of a tradition that rejects ideological appeals and organizes around issues of immediate self-interest—an approach inimical to that of New Left types who received ACTION grants under Brown. Furthermore, Valley Interfaith and its I.A.F. affiliates have consistently refused to take any government funds. Their idea of voluntarism is then quite close to that espoused by the Administration—a point that has escaped Pauken.

As for the "hidden agenda" Pauken so readily ascribes to the organization, he need look no further than 250 miles north to San Antonio, where Valley Interfaith's sister organization, Communities Organized for Public Service, recently celebrated its tenth anniversary. Though at first a strident and unwelcome voice on the local scene, COPS is now an accepted member of the political community—working with the business establishment on economic development projects, and spearheading a successful statewide effort for educational finance reform. With this kind of track record behind its affiliates, Valley Interfaith's agenda seems far from hidden.

But when asked about COPS, Pauken responded with a terse, "No comment," insisting, "I don't know anything about San Antonio." And when questioned about Valley Interfaith's support for urban enterprise zones, a centerpiece of Administration domestic policy, Pauken again fell back on what can only be termed willful ignorance. His sole response to the organization is to attack it as "one of many outgrowths of the New Left in the 1960s."

Since this initial assault, Pauken has pursued a double-barreled strategy. Without again publicly criticizing Valley Interfaith, he continues to be involved in a whispering campaign against it in an effort to wean away Interfaith's less reliable allies. And though Pauken continues to talk about economic development in the Valley, his grants typically go to private social service agencies. He is thus in the curious position, for a Reagan Republican, of ostentatiously funding social service agencies rejected by the Administration as costly and unworkable. Thus, in the name of voluntarism, he hands out federal grants as part of a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

campaign to weaken a group that has refused to accept governmental monies.

Despite its inconsistencies, Pauken's strategy has met with some success. The sense of crisis in the Valley has passed. With the arrival of summer, some of the unemployed found other work, while others scraped together enough money to travel north with the migrant labor stream. Some of the business supporters of Interfaith's jobs proposal have been persuaded to distance themselves from it.

At the same time, Pauken has succeeded in polarizing a situation that was remarkably unpolarized before he arrived. Not surprisingly, the Valley is fertile ground for his charges. In McAllen, the Valley's second largest city and the last bastion of Anglo political hegemony, Mayor Othal Brand—one of the few public officials who refused to endorse the jobs proposal, calling Interfaith members "revolutionaries" and "ingrates"—has appeared on the front page of the local paper accepting Pauken's latest grant.

And the local press, previously noncommittal about Valley Interfaith, has been stirred into action by Pauken's campaign. In the wake of Pauken's attack, various pamphlets, though not traceable to him, have appeared, denouncing Valley Interfaith as a Marxist cabal. One unsigned pamphlet likened Saul Alinsky to Hitler and Stalin.

Less extreme but equally hostile elements have also been aroused by Pauken's charges. Many non-Catholic Anglos are understandably angry that this overwhelmingly Catholic group calls itself Valley *Interfaith*. Many Catholics, Mexican and Anglo, are angered by the politicization of the Church. One parish council in Brownsville voted to leave the organization, only to be told by their pastor that the decision was his alone. Anglo Catholics are at pains to explain to Protestant friends, already distrustful of the Catholic Church, that little can be done to challenge the bishop's support of Valley Interfaith.

BENEATH THESE religious crosscurrents, there lurks another issue. For many Anglos especially, Valley Interfaith looks like a stalking horse for a revived union movement. In the 1960s the United Farm Workers waged a bitter but not very successful organizing campaign in the Valley. Today the union is moribund, with at most a few hundred members in the region. And the small growers who are descendants of Valley pioneers want to keep it that way.

Some of the strongest criticisms toward Valley Interfaith now come from Mexican-American elected officials. Over the past decade there has been a virtual revolution in office-holding in the Valley, with Mexican-Americans taking over just about every municipal and county elected position. Democrats almost to the man, many of them have turned out to be rather cautious when confronted by the social and economic realities of the region.

At the height of the crisis, most of these politicians willingly endorsed the Interfaith proposal. They didn't expect it to succeed; supporting it cost little and kept them in the good graces of an emergent power in their communities. But now Pauken, whose politics they hardly endorse, has emboldened the Mexican-American officials to express the natural antagonism any politician feels toward an organization like Valley Interfaith. Without a doubt, the most vigorous criticisms come from former La Raza Unida Party activists, who have gained a foothold in the Democratic establishment, and resent Interfaith's pressure tactics. As Juan Maldonado—former mayor of the city of San Juan, and present member of the Democratic National Committee—says of Valley Interfaith, "They have to realize that Mexican-Americans are in. We have power. We may not be king of the hill, but we have power, and we have to act accordingly." Former activists now dealing with budgets and with tax-conscious Mexican-American homeowners are not about to join Pauken's holy war; but neither do they mind seeing it waged against a rival they consider a Johnny-come-lately.

AND PAUKEN, as it turns out, may well have a hidden agenda of his own. George Strake, chairman of the state Republican Party, has complained that Valley Interfaith's proposal would benefit mostly the Democratic city and county officials who would likely have administered the funds. Furthermore, Valley Interfaith is assisting in a statewide effort, funded by the Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project, to register 200,000 new Mexican-American voters. By the May primary, Valley Interfaith was halfway to its goal of 25,000 new registrants. Even if such efforts are only marginally successful at the polls, they threaten Texas Republicans who are still smarting from their narrow loss of the governorship in 1982. (The well-mobilized Mexican-American vote was generally credited with making the difference for the Democrats.) And this fall the party must try to keep the Senate seat being vacated by John Tower. Dealing a blow to Valley Interfaith would aid the fortunes of Texas Republicans.

Given all this, it may seem strange that Valley Interfaith expected to see its proposal accepted by the Reagan Administration. The group's leaders may have shrewdly calculated that a negative response would be a good cause around which to organize. At the same time, they invested considerable energy and resources in pushing the proposal, and claim to have had a good chance of getting at least some money from Washington. Cortes and Drake argue that even if the Administration had given them a fraction of the package, it would have both scored a coup with Hispanic voters and helped neutralize the fairness issue.

A good bet to carry Texas, the President had the room to take the statesmanlike position. What has prevailed instead are the instincts of ultraconservative Republicans, motivated by both ideological and practical concerns. In the meantime, Valley Interfaith has taken some blows, but may emerge stronger than ever. After all, Pauken has offered himself to Mexican-Americans across Texas as the political target that Valley Interfaith may have been bargaining for all along. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

3 BOOKS, 3 BUCKS. NO CON
NO LIFETIME MEMBE
NO HARDCOVEI

Try QPB.
You'll find a wealth of reading to choose from at very affordable prices.
QPB books are softcover editions in hardcover sizes, durably bound and printed on fine paper. But they cost up to 65% less than their hardcover counterparts. More books, fewer bucks. Join QPB.

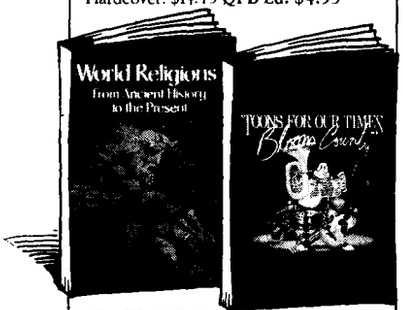
100. The Best of Modern Humor
Edited by Mordecai Richler
Hardcover: $17.95 **QPB Ed: $9.95**

155. Edisto. Padgett Powell
Hardcover: $11.95 **QPB Ed: $5.95**

331. A Treasury for Word Lovers
Morton S. Freeman
Foreword by Edwin Newman
Hardcover: $19.95 **QPB: $10.95**

197. The Complete Walker III
The Joys and Techniques of Hiking and Backpacking. Colin Fletcher
Hardcover: $20 **QPB: $9.50**

235. Ironweed. William Kennedy
Hardcover: $14.75 **QPB Ed: $4.95**

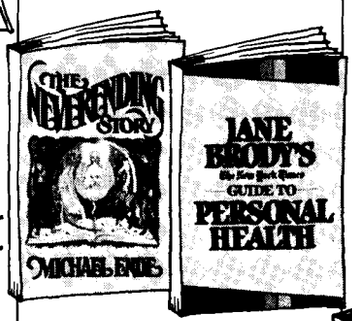


601. World Religions
From Ancient History to the Present. Edited by Geoffrey Parrinder
Hardcover: $29.95 **QPB Ed: $13.95**

706. 'Toons for Our Times: A Bloom County Book. Berke Breathed
QPB: $5.95

330. The Poetry of Robert Frost
Edited by Edward Connery Lathem
Hardcover: $17.50 **QPB: $7.95**

218. The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia
Hardcover: $29.95 **QPB: $11.95**



718. The Neverending Story
Michael Ende. Translated by Ralph Manheim
Hardcover: $15.95 **QPB: $5.95**

383. Jane Brody's The New York Times Guide to Personal Health
Jane E. Brody
Hardcover: $19.95 **QPB: $9.95**

609. Doonesbury Dossier
The Reagan Years.
G. B. Trudeau. With an Introduction by Gloria Steinem
Hardcover: $22.95 **QPB: $9.95**

198. The First Elizabeth
Carolly Erickson
Hardcover: $19.95 **QPB: $7.95**

116. The Connoisseurs' Handbook of California Wines (Third Edition).
Charles Olken, Earl Singer and Norman Roby. **QPB: $5.95**

205. Blue Guide: France.
Ian Robertson. **QPB: $12.95**

215. A Field Guide to American Houses. Virginia and Lee McAlester
Hardcover: $25 **QPB: $12.95**

216. The Fit-or-Fat Target Diet
Covert Bailey
Hardcover: $11.95 **QPB: $5.95**

248. James Joyce (New and Revised Edition). Richard Ellmann
Hardcover: $35 **QPB: $10.95**

275. Jane Fonda's Workout Book
Hardcover: $19.95 **QPB: $7.95**

277. Miracle at Midway
Gordon W. Prange with Donald M. Goldstein and Katherine V. Dillon
Hardcover: $19.95 **QPB: $7.50**

388. The Death of Che Guevara
Jay Cantor
Hardcover: $17.95 **QPB: $7.50**

297. Dinner at the Homesick Restaurant and **Morgan's Passing** (2 Vols.) Anne Tyler
Hardcovers: $23.45 **QPB Ed: $10.95**

306. The Color Purple
Alice Walker
Hardcover: $11.95 **QPB Ed: $6.50**

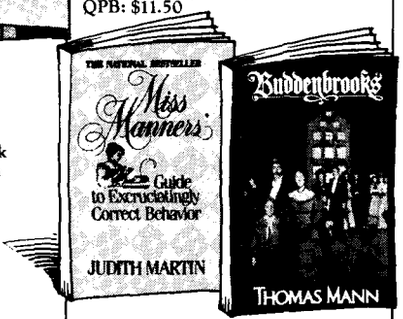
315. Great Esquire Fiction. Edited and with an Introduction by L. Rust Hills
Hardcover: $27.50 **QPB: $9.45**

324. Prize Stories 1984
The O. Henry Awards.
Edited and with an Introduction by William Abrahams
Hardcover: $16.95 **QPB: $7.95**

255. Black Water: The Book of Fantastic Literature. Edited by Alberto Manguel. **QPB: $9.95**

337. Sports Classics: American Writers Choose Their Best.
Edited by Howard Siner
Hardcover: $16.95 **QPB Ed: $7.95**

273. Photography in Focus
(New Third Edition).
Mark Jacobs and Ken Kokrda
Introduction by Sidney Holts
QPB: $11.50



250. Miss Manners' Guide to Excruciatingly Correct Behavior
Judith Martin
Hardcover: $19.95 **QPB: $8.95**

257. Buddenbrooks. Thomas Mann
Translated from the German by H. T. Lowe-Porter
Hardcover: $15 **QPB: $5.95**

355. The Fine Art of Literary Mayhem: A Lively Account of Famous Writers and Their Feuds.
Myrick Land. **QPB: $6.95**

260. Report on the Shroud of Turin
Dr. John H. Heller
Hardcover: $15.95 **QPB: $6.95**

120. Brownies
Linda Burum. **QPB: $5.95**

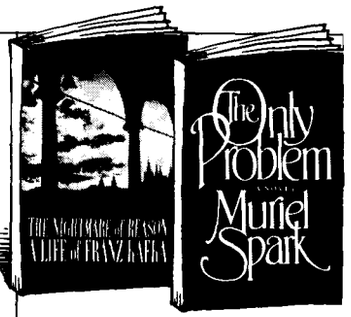
373. Amphigorey Also
Edward Gorey
Hardcover: $20 **QPB: $9.95**

179. Calvino Set: *If on a Winter's Night a Traveler, Invisible Cities, The Baron in the Trees.* (3 Vols., Boxed)
Italo Calvino. **QPB Ed: $10.95**

721. Richard III: England's Black Legend. Desmond Seward
Hardcover: $18.95 **QPB Ed: $8.95**

722. The Young Writer's Handbook
Susan and Stephen Tchudi
Hardcover: $12.95 **QPB Ed: $6.50**

723. Aristotle to Zoos: A Philosophical Dictionary of Biology.
P. B. Medawar and J. S. Medawar
Hardcover: $18.50 **QPB Ed: $9.95**



711. The Nightmare of Reason
A Life of Franz Kafka.
Ernst Pawel
Hardcover: $25.50 **QPB Ed: $10.95**

714. The Only Problem
Muriel Spark
Hardcover: $14.95 **QPB Ed: $5.95**

394. The Mail-Order Gourmet
Peggy Hardigree. **QPB: $8.50**

402. Computer Gamesmanship
Elements of Intelligent Game Design.
David Levy. **QPB: $9.95**

404. Listening to America
Stuart Berg Flexner
Hardcover: $24.95 **QPB Ed: $11.95**

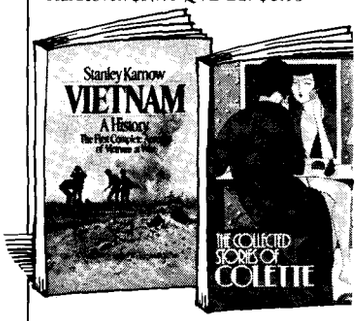
406. Street Smart Investing
A Price and Value Approach to Stock Market Profits.
George B. Clairmont and Kiril Sokoloff
Hardcover: $16.95 **QPB: $5.95**

417. Hen's Teeth and Horse's Toes
Stephen Jay Gould
Hardcover: $15.50 **QPB Ed: $5.95**

420. God and the New Physics
Paul Davies
Hardcover: $16.95 **QPB Ed: $6.95**

449. Riddles: Ancient and Modern.
Mark Bryant
Hardcover: $15.95 **QPB: $5.95**

456. To Live and Die in L.A.
Gerald Petievich
Hardcover: $14.95 **QPB Ed: $6.95**



393. Vietnam: A History: The First Complete Account of Vietnam at War.
Stanley Karnow
Hardcover: $22.50 **QPB: $8.95**

122. The Collected Stories of Colette. Edited, and with an Introduction, by Robert Phelps
Hardcover: $19.95 **QPB Ed: $10.50**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MITMENT. NO OBLIGATION.
HIP. NO HARDCOVERS.
PRICES. NO KIDDING.

504. Calligraphy Made Easy
A Beginner's Workbook.
Margaret Shepherd. **QPB: $7.95**

480. The Collected Stories of Eudora Welty
Hardcover: $19.95 **QPB Ed: $8.95**

482. Willie and Dwike: An American Profile. William K. Zinsser
Hardcover: $13.95 **QPB Ed: $5.95**

488. The Unabridged Edgar Allan Poe
Edgar Allan Poe. **QPB: $8.95**

498. The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History. Robert Darnton
Hardcover: $17.95 **QPB Ed: $8.95**

502. The Aeneid. Virgil
Translated by Robert Fitzgerald
Hardcover: $20 **QPB Ed: $9.95**

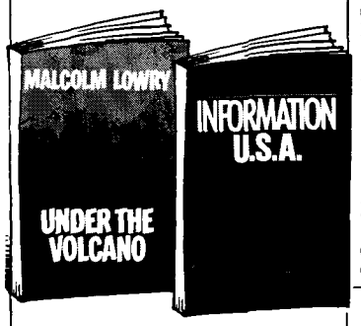
507. Megatrends. John Naisbitt
Hardcover: $15.50 **QPB Ed: $5.95**

509. The Stories of Bernard Malamud
Hardcover: $17.95 **QPB Ed: $8.95**

525. Meditations in Green
Stephen Wright
Hardcover: $14.95 **QPB Ed: $6.95**

531. Washington: The Indispensable Man. James Thomas Flexner
Hardcover: $16.95 **QPB: $6.95**

535. A Maigret Trio: *Maigret's Failure, Maigret in Society, Maigret and the Lazy Burglar.* (1 Vol.)
Georges Simenon. **QPB: $4.95**



145. Under the Volcano
Malcolm Lowry. Introduction by Stephen Spender
Hardcover: $15.95 **QPB Ed: $6.95**

466. Information U.S.A.
Matthew Lesko
Hardcover: $41.75 **QPB: $13.95**

276. Bridges to Infinity: The Human Side of Mathematics. Michael Guillen
Hardcover: $13.95 **QPB Ed: $5.95**

709. Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World.
David S. Landes
Hardcover: $20 **QPB Ed: $10.95**

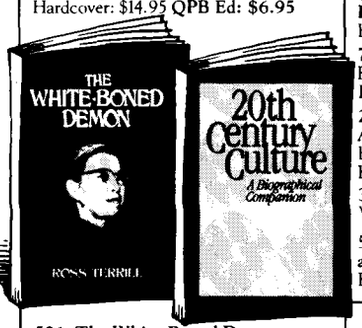
313. Your Memory: A User's Guide. Alan Baddeley
Hardcover: $16.95 **QPB: $8.50**

282. Irwin Shaw Short Stories
Five Decades.
Hardcover: $16.95 **QPB Ed: $9.95**

591. The Writer's Guide to Magazine Markets: Nonfiction and Fiction (2 Vols.) Helen Rosengren Freedman and Karen Krieger
QPB: $11.95

600. Sniglets. Rich Hall and Friends. Illustrated by Arnie Ten
QPB: $4.95

720. The Female Stress Syndrome
How to Recognize and Live with It.
Dr. Georgia Witkin-Lanoil, Ph.D.
Hardcover: $14.95 **QPB Ed: $6.95**



521. The White-Boned Demon
A Biography of Madame Mao Zedong.
Ross Terrill
Hardcover: $18.95 **QPB Ed: $9.95**

559. The Name of the Rose
Umberto Eco. Translated from the Italian by William Weaver
Hardcover: $15.95 **QPB Ed: $8.50**

536. 2010: Odyssey Two
Arthur C. Clarke
Hardcover: $14.95 **QPB Ed: $7.95**

556. Excellent Women/Jane and Prudence/An Unsuitable Attachment (1 Vol.) Barbara Pym
Hardcovers: $31.95 **QPB Ed: $12.95**

566. The Working Mother's Complete Handbook
(Revised Edition).
Gloria Norris and JoAnn Miller
QPB: $7.95

607. A Child Is Born
(Completely Revised Edition).
Photographs by Lennart Nilsson
Hardcover: $16.95 **QPB Ed: $7.95**

710. The Killing Doll
Ruth Rendell
Hardcover: $12.95 **QPB Ed: $6.95**

713. The Crosswords Club
The First Year. Edited by Will Weng. **QPB: $5.95**

715. Outrageous Acts and Everyday Rebellions. Gloria Steinem
Hardcover: $14.95 **QPB Ed: $6.95**

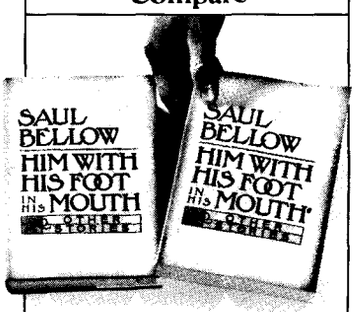
719. Weapons and Hope
Freeman Dyson
Hardcover: $17.95 **QPB Ed: $8.95**

231. Twentieth-Century Culture
A Biographical Companion. Edited by Alan Bullock and R. B. Woodings
Hardcover: $35 **QPB Ed: $12.95**

343. Freelance Forever. Marietta Whittlesey. **QPB: $6.95**

583. Him with His Foot in His Mouth and Other Stories. Saul Bellow
Hardcover: $15.95 **QPB Ed: $7.95**

Compare



Hardcover: $15.95 **QPB Softcover: $7.95**

Let's try each other for 6 months.

Quality Paperback Book Club®, Middletown, Pa. 17057. Please enroll me in QPB and send the 3 choices I've listed below, billing me only $1 each, plus shipping and handling charges. I understand that I am not required to buy another book. You will send me the *QPB Review* (if my account is in good standing) for six months. If I have not bought and paid for at least one book in every six-month period, you may cancel my membership. A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment.

Indicate by number the 3 books or sets you want. ☐ ☐ ☐

Name _____ 4-16
(Please print clearly) QB 127-9

Address _____ **Apt.** _____

City _____ **State** _____ **Zip** _____

Prices generally higher in Canada.

Join now. Pick any 3 books or sets for $1 each–with no obligation to buy another book.

How membership works.
1. You receive the **QPB Review** 15 times each year (about every 3½ weeks). Each issue reviews a new **Selection,** plus scores of Alternates.
2. If you want the **Selection** do nothing. It will be shipped to you automatically. If you want one or more Alternate books—or no book at all—indicate your decision on the Reply Form always enclosed and return it by the date specified.
3. **Bonus books for Bonus Points.** For each softcover book or set you take (except for the books in this offer), you earn Bonus Points which entitle you to choose any of our softcover books. You pay only shipping and handling charges.
4. **Return privilege.** If the *QPB Review* is delayed and you receive the **Selection** without having had 10 days to notify us, you may return it for credit at our expense.
5. **Cancellations.** You may cancel membership at any time by notifying QPB. We may cancel your membership if you elect not to buy and pay for at least one book in every six-month period.

QPB® **The first book club for smart people who aren't rich.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STANLEY KAUFFMANN ON FILMS

In the Name of Order

On they come, the film encyclopedias. Since 1976 we've had, among others, *The Oxford Companion to Film*, regrettably unreliable; *The Film Encyclopedia* by Ephraim Katz, limited to people and topics—no entries for individual films—but sturdily useful; and a work that deals only with directors, the two-volume *Cinema: A Critical Dictionary*, which was egotistically maimed by its editor, Richard Roud. The past year brought *The Illustrated Guide to Film Directors* by David Quinlan (Barnes and Noble, $28.50), 360 three-columned pages, 570 entries, 250 black-and-white photographs; and *The Illustrated Who's Who of the Cinema* edited by Ann Lloyd and Graham Fuller (Macmillan, $65), 480 large four-columned pages, almost 2,500 biographies, and over 1,500 photographs, many of them in (mediocre) color. Both of these recent books are, for the most part, decently written, flavorful, intelligent quick-reference aids.

Now St. James Press weighs in with the first two volumes of a four-volume set, *The International Dictionary of Films and Filmmakers*, presented, says the brochure, "in partnership with Macmillan Press of London, publishers of the highly acclaimed *Grove's Dictionary of Music*." After that citation, the brochure needlessly adds that the encyclopedia is not intended for movie fans: "we have set out to create a serious reference book for librarians and scholars." The encyclopedia is edited by Christopher Lyon, assisted by Susan Doll. The two volumes in hand are *Films* (called One hereafter) and *Directors/Filmmakers* (called Two); they will be followed by *Actors and Actresses* in December and by *Writers and Production Artists* in March 1985. Each volume contains 500 entries except the third, which contains 700. Of the two in hand, One has 536 double-columned pages, Two has 611. Each volume costs $50, but the complete set can be ordered now for $150.

I have read the first half of One and leafed through the rest. I did the reverse with Two. Herewith some comments.

Selections. No substantive quarrels here. Certainly I disagree with some inclusions and omissions: so would any informed reader. But I saw no entry—and can think of no omission—that is flatly indefensible. I admired the effort to deal with countries outside the mainstream and with some significant figures who are sometimes overlooked.

Format. The pattern in One is, after the title, to give data about the film's production and credits, date and places of production, cost, cast, publications about the film, including the script (if published) and a selected bibliography of reviews and articles; then comes a critical essay of, usually, one column in length—500 to 600 words. With Two, after the subject's name a brief biography and filmography appear, then publications by the director (if any), then a selective bibliography of books and articles about the director; then comes a critical essay, often longer than most of the essays in One.

These patterns are not used consistently. The reader can't rely on finding the same data (e.g., cost of a film, a living director's address) in every item. What's much worse is that, especially in Two, there is no essay for some entries; and no reason is given for the omission. Why no essays, for instance, on *Balada o Soldate (Ballad of a Soldier)*, on Mikio Naruse, Jacques Rivette, Alf Sjøberg, Billy Wilder? The essays are the real reason for the existence of this set: much of the factual material is available elsewhere, sometimes more fully. Why include a film or a director if the entry isn't worth an essay?

Did each contributor also prepare the bibliography for his subject? This isn't clear. The bibliographies look helpful—I don't pretend to have examined each one in detail or to be competent to judge every item—but here again I noted oddities. Only three items are listed for *E.T.* The first long study of Miklos Jancsó by Yvette Biró (Paris, 1977)—isn't mentioned. And I am credited with an article on Franklin Schaffner that I didn't write.

Essays. The aim here, I assume, was to supply a conspectus on a film or director that is critical without being cranky. The range of quality is much too wide. At the highest level are the contributions of Dudley Andrew, John Baxter, Dave Kehr, Liam O'Leary, and P. Adams Sitney. At the lowest are those of DeWitt Bodeen, Stephen E. Bowles, and Louise Heck-Rabi. Most of the others, some of whom contribute a lot, float up and down within those levels. Markedly good: Andrew on *Journal d'un Curé de Campagne*, Baxter on John Ford, Kehr on Jacques Tati. Markedly poor: Tom Conley's gassy piece on Renoir. ("No director will ever equal the febrility of Renoir in the decade from 1930 to 1940." Even if you think of Renoir as febrile, you may doubt Conley's gift of prophecy.)

For crankiness, see Robin Wood in Two, attempting to stuff Scorsese's *Raging Bull* into a bisexual bag, with a Freudian citation to "prove" his point. In One, Wood tells us that when the two fleeing prisoners in *La Grande Illusion* sleep in each other's arms in a ditch

FILMS WORTH SEEING

Another Country. Burgess-McLean defections are too simply explained in this English public school drama, but everything else is finely done. (Reviewed 7/9/84)

The Bostonians. Vanessa Redgrave is a treasure as Olive. Some others of the cast (not Verena) are good, and everything looks like Thomas Eakins. Not much Henry James texture, though. (8/6/84)

Last Night at the Alamo. Eagle-Pennell's small-scale film about closing night in a Houston bar today. Vivid and authentic. (8/27/84)

The Muppets Take Manhattan. Just graduated from college, they bring their senior show to Broadway. Next film, perhaps, they'll *all* have more to do and the songs will be better, but meanwhile. . . . (8/13&20/84)

SK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to keep from freezing, the scene contains "the eruption of a possible bisexuality."

Textual Editing. Not careful enough. A few examples: In the Rossellini essay, a statement about *Roma, cittá aperta* hangs in midair because, apparently, an antecedent passage containing the title has been cut. Much writing like the following has been allowed to pass:

> The plot level . . . is easily summarized.
> Vacillating, he changed his mind.
> Pitifully few women have throughout cinema history been allowed to make movies, let alone make great movies.

(How many men have been "allowed" to make great movies?)

I counted a dozen opening sentences of essays that contain the word "perhaps." ("Rouben Mamoulian's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* is perhaps the most stylish. . . .") Two successive essays, Solas and Spielberg, *begin* with "perhaps."

The proofreading is inadequate. Every reader has a subjective, indefinable tolerance of typographical errors: these books exceed mine. One page—Two, 365—has three typos.

If we assume that the two forthcoming volumes are of about the same quality as these two—a fair assumption since they were done under the same editors—this new encyclopedia must be accounted somewhat disappointing. Mechanically and stylistically it ought to have been cleaner. Its treatment of entries ought to have been more consistent, especially as regards an essay for every entry. The level of criticism, which is the crux of the enterprise, ought to have been higher.

But a great deal of the factual material and many of the essays are worth having in hand. One definition of an encyclopedia: maximum breadth with the most depth that the breadth allows. Here the depth isn't relatively equivalent to the breadth, but it's moderately close. Besides, these books, all four of them, must be seen as the start of an enterprise. The editors acknowledge that work "such as this is in need of constant revision, correction, and updating." So my strictures can be seen—I hope—as an interim report.

This will be the largest film encyclopedia in English to date, and that in itself is a fact of importance. A major encyclopedia, which is what St. James justifiably claims as its ambition, is a taxonomical blessing in its field and a civilizing instrument in general. The publisher and the editors have made a substantial beginning.

LABOUR PAINS

Labour in Power: 1945-1951 by Kenneth Morgan

(Oxford, 552 pp., $34.95)

The Labour government that came to power in Britain in July 1945—like the Liberal government of 1906, which was one of the most remarkable and radical of this century—did not have to revolutionize society. It inherited a revolution in awareness and in attitudes that provided a climate for sweeping reform, and made its opponents on the right seem old-fashioned and out of touch. That revolution in attitudes was a by-product of the Second World War, which brought a politically divided nation together while educating it in the causes of those divisions.

In the early 1930s during the Great Depression, when the older industrial regions of the United Kingdom were in the depths of despair, over a third of the work force was unemployed in the Northeast and Scotland, over two-fifths in Wales. The dole, reduced in 1931 after a crisis that split the Labour Party and drove it out of office for a decade, hardly kept body and soul together. Diseases of malnutrition and poverty (like rickets and tuberculosis) were commonplace; infant mortality was high. Mass poverty polarized political vicars.

Kenneth Morgan describes the period in his thoroughly researched and comprehensive account of the postwar Labour governments: "There was a marked heightening of political passions in a period marked by deepening crisis over both domestic and foreign policy." Some politicians, like Stafford Cripps and the Webbs, were attracted to the Soviet Union's authoritarian socialism. It was, wrote the Webbs, "a new civilization." Others, like Oswald Moseley, who left the Labour Party in 1931, were drawn to Mussolini's fascism, which promised a radical attack on unemployment. At times divided opinions threatened the stability of the Labour Party; but from his election as leader in 1935, Attlee and his closest colleagues maintained control for the moderates and constitutionalists over the unruly party. Not until the 1970s was that domination seriously threatened.

THE WAR transformed Britain, and offered the country the opportunity to break out of its long, though gentle, decline. "The war and the revolution," wrote Orwell in his 1941 essay "The Lion and the Unicorn," "are inescapable." First and most important of all, unemployment disappeared. By the end of the war, only 2 percent of the country's labor force was out of work, and that figure hardly altered for a generation.

Second, conscription, evacuation, and the communal air raid shelters brought home to the middle class and to those who administered the country just how savage was the poverty of the old industrial areas and the inner city slums. Comfortable housewives in suburbs and seaside resorts came across head lice and scabs for the first time in their lives, by way of evacuated children. It was a commentary on the nation's pre-war diet that the health of a large part of the population improved under wartime food rationing. As the war intensified, class divisions and sex discrimination began to break down: man and woman, management and labor, strode together in factories and offices to maximize output and overcome obstacles. In May 1940, the reconciliation of political and class opponents was sealed by the entry of the Labour Party into Churchill's coalition government.

The experience of government, together with the wartime revolution in attitudes, was the foundation of the 1945 Labour government's success. Despite some personal antipathies, notably between Ernest Bevin and Aneurin

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bevan, the Labour cabinet worked as a team, and it was a team that included several great men. Except Bevan, all of these outstanding men—Attlee, Bevin, Herbert Morrison, Cripps, Hugh Dalton—had held senior posts in the coalition government. All except Bevan were in their late 50s or 60s: it was, as Morgan says, a cabinet of veterans, shrewd, seasoned, and well used to working together. For all the headiness of July 1945 ("Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive, and to be young was very Heaven," as Wordsworth wrote about the more stormy revolution of France in 1789), this was a reassuring, solid-looking government.

Yet a crucial test came even before Attlee's government was elected. During the election campaign, Harold Laski, a left-wing political scientist who was chairman of the Labour Party, bombarded Attlee with a series of commands and instructions to the effect that the decisions on policy of the party's National Executive Committee should be binding on Labour ministers. The issue of who controls whom was then unresolved in the Labour Party, and so it remains. The party's 1918 constitution, which has stayed substantially unchanged, does not lay down whether the Parliamentary Party or the Party Conference should prevail. As Michael Foot put it in *My Kind of Socialism*, the party created two sovereign bodies, neither willing to bow the knee to the other. Those sovereign bodies represent different strands in British socialism: the gradualist, Parliamentary strand, responsive to the electorate because it wants to gain power through the ballot; and the activist, ideological strand, which responds to party cadres and wants to overthrow capitalist society.

ATTLEE was in no doubt about which side should prevail. He replied to Laski: "a period of silence on your part would be welcome." To the country he declared that the Labour Party leadership was in no way bound by the National Executive. Throughout his whole period of office, Attlee and his Parliamentary colleagues remained in command of the Conference and of the National Executive. There were no serious rebellions. But the constitutional dichotomy had not been removed; later Labour governments and later Labour leaderships had to wrestle with it, and never again achieved the Attlee government's easy mastery.

In controlling the Labour Party, Attlee had a major advantage: the virtually automatic support of the block vote of the major unions. He enjoyed their support because of his close working relationship with Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, who had been general secretary of the T.G.W.U., Britain's biggest union, for over twenty years, and who remained (even in government) the most powerful trade unionist in the land. The trade unions were (and are) the paymasters and the powerhouse of the Labour Party. During the postwar Labour government their loyalty was total, extending to accepting a wage freeze in 1949 which lasted until 1950, even though a devaluation of sterling in 1949 raised the prices of imported goods. Labour ministers, including those on the left like Bevan, did not hesitate to use emergency powers to break the unofficial dock strikes in 1948 and 1949, and to bring in troops to move produce. But the official leaders did not demur, for those who led the major unions were almost indistinguishable from the government itself.

This close relationship with the pragmatic trade unions was one reason for the institutional conservatism of the Attlee government. Its most lasting achievements were the establishment of the National Health Services, the development of the welfare state based on the ideas of William Beveridge, and the maintenance of full employment throughout the demobilization of millions of servicemen and six years of peace. The nonconformist Christian tradition of a caring, compassionate society inspired these achievements.

Still, the institutional structures were centralized and paternalist, though they were also altruistic and dedicated to social justice. In some ways they reflected the earnest dedication of the Prime Minister, a public school-educated boy whose early manhood was spent working in the poverty-stricken East End of London. The experience marked him deeply. I remember finding a scrap of poetry written by him in 1907:

> In Limehouse, in Limehouse,
> before the break of day
> I hear the feet of many men
> that go upon their way
> That wander through the city,
> the grey and cruel city,
> Through streets that have no pity,
> through streets where men decay.

Nationalism, the other distinguishing policy of the 1945 Labour government, was inherited partly from Marxism, partly from the Fabian faith in a disinterested, efficient bureaucracy. There were no blueprints, so the Labour government adopted the pattern of the public corporation first developed by Herbert Morrison in his days as leader of London County Council. Thus nationalization was divorced from worker control and industrial democracy. The change of ownership did not always bring about a change in management style.

Labour's caution was yet more apparent on social questions. The education system was expanded by raising the school leaving age to 15, but no attempt was made to alter academic selection based on examinations taken at the age of 11. Neither entry to the civil service nor to Oxbridge was changed, though a big expansion of university grants, many going to ex-servicemen, altered the social composition of the universities. On capital punishment, the government resisted abolition. On sexual and racial discrimination, it had nothing to say.

YET IT was a great government, abroad as well as at home, buoyed up by a vision of a better society and a better world. The first was nearly destroyed by the 1947 financial crisis, when the U.S. government's insistence on sterling convertibility, entered into as a condition of the American loan in 1945, threatened Britain with bankruptcy. In that crisis Attlee himself proved to be a weak reed, as was the case in the other major economic crises of his governments.

But the government, with the austere Stafford Cripps as Chancellor, weathered the storm; and in that same year, Ernest Bevin seized upon a farsighted but vague lecture given on June 5, 1949 at Harvard by General Marshall, the U.S. Secretary of State, to fashion Europe's postwar recovery and to shape a new Atlantic alliance. Bevin's response was immediate. By mid-July a plan for European recovery had been agreed by all the Western European governments; by the autumn a complete infrastructure had been put together; and ten months after Marshall's speech, Truman had committed the United States to the Economic Cooperation Act.

Parallel to economic cooperation, Bevin sought to guarantee the defense

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

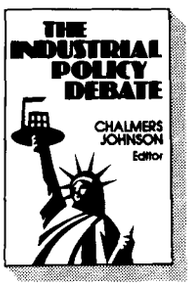
of Western Europe. In January 1948 he proposed a Western European union; in March he signed the Brussels Treaty; and a year later NATO was established, committing the United States to defend indefinitely the Brussels Treaty powers. Morgan describes Bevin's "momentous period" at the Foreign Office in one of the best chapters of his excellent book, showing how Bevin laid the foundations of the postwar alliance between Western Europe and North America that has lasted to this day.

BRITAIN was conscious after the war of bearing a major responsibility for world stability and world order, and Bevin's foreign policy reflected this. Gradually the government came to terms with the fact that Britain's power did not match her aspirations—hence the harbor of responsibility for Greece and Turkey in 1947, the abandonment of the Palestine mandate, and the recognition that the Indian subcontinent could not be denied independence. The rebut from world power was brilliantly executed, leaving behind in almost every case either a new multinational structure, as in Western Europe and the Balkans, or a sound successor government, as in India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. Only in Palestine was there failure. Furthermore, foreign policy was complemented by a generous and imaginative colonial policy; Britain's colonies benefited from substantial social and economic development, which under the Colombo Plan was administered by the recipient countries as well as the donors.

It is forgivable, therefore, that the Labour government misjudged the rate at which Britain's power was declining. It is understandable that the first moves toward the creation of a European coal and steel community were rebuffed—"it's no good," said Morrison in 1951, by now Foreign Secretary, "the Durham miners won't wear it." It is said that the North Korean invasion of South Korea, a world away, destroyed the unity of the Labour government as the rearmament budget bit into social spending, culminating in the resignation of Bevan, Wilson, and Freemen over health service charges. While the legacy of Attlee's government dominated the next twenty years or more, for the Labour Party it was never to be a "glad, confident morning" again.

After 1951, Labour was out of power for thirteen years, years that saw the death or retirement of all of Labour's

Is industrial policy the solution . . . or the problem?



Editor Chalmers Johnson and twelve distinguished economists and political scientists take a critical look at the many issues raised by recent calls for a national "industrial policy." THE INDUSTRIAL POLICY DEBATE is must reading for this election year!

"...by far the best single book available on this issue."
Professor C. Glyn Williams
University of South Carolina

275 pages
$8.95 (paper)
$21.95 (cloth)

At better bookstores, or direct from

ICS PRESS
Institute for Contemporary Studies
785 Market Street, Dept. 724
San Francisco, CA 94103
(415) 543-6349

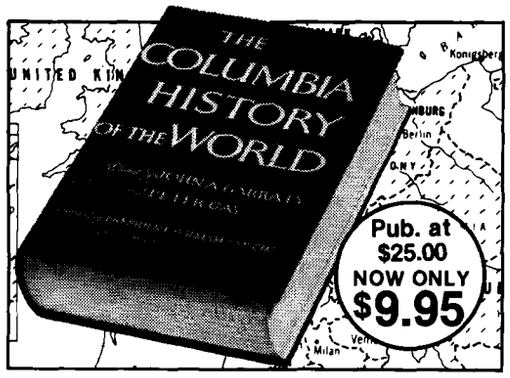
The History of the World in One Brilliant Volume!

At a discount of 60%

A classic in its field, this superb volume provides a brilliant and fascinating capsulized history of the world, in five comprehensive chapters, that spans the Ancient World to the Modern—from classical antiquity among the Jews, to Byzantium, the Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution, the Great World Wars, and the brooding present.

Covering every aspect of human history, from the formation of the universe to present day, *The Columbia History of the World* is distinguished by the contributions of forty prestigious Columbia professors—including Jacques Barzun, Immanuel Wallerstein and Rene Albrecht—as well as the editorship of renowned historians John Garraty and Peter Gay.

Fully illustrated with maps, this thorough world history will delight and serve the scholar, student, and general reader aliker. 1,237pp. Hardcover. Harper-Row.



30 DAY MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE
Offer good only in continental U.S.A.

SINCE 1873
Barnes & Noble
BOOKSTORES
126 Fifth Ave.,Dept. C56 ,N.Y.,N.Y.10011

1041631. Please rush me_____copies of the *Columbia History of the World* at your special sale price of $9.95 (plus $1.25 shipping and insurance). *N.Y. and N.J. residents: Please add sales tax.*

Check One
☐ Payment enclosed
☐ I prefer to charge this purchase to:
☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard

©1984, Barnes & Noble Bookstores, Inc.

Mr☐ Ms☐ Name
Address
City
State Zip
Account#
Signature Exp.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leaders except one—the youngest of Attlee's cabinet ministers, Harold Wilson, who in 1951 was only 34 years old. During those thirteen years the party was dominated by two men, neither of whom ever served in another Labour government, Hugh Gaitskell and Aneurin Bevan. Though both were passionately committed to Parliamentary democracy, they differed on foreign policy, on economic policy, and on nationalization. Neither could reshape the Labour Party according to his own image.

Gaitskell tried after the 1959 general election defeat to drop clause four, which committed the Labour Party to the common ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange. He failed, although few Labour Party members believed the objective was likely to be achieved in the forseeable future. Bevan's supporters took control of the constituency section of the National Executive Committee, but they too failed to command the party. The Parliamentary Party remained largely Gaitskellite, and on the whole, though not always, Gaitskell could count on the support of the trade union block vote.

Harold Wilson brought Labour a new lease on life it did not wholly deserve. In 1964 he won power on a minority of seats and with the support of less than a third of the electorate. But he had the rare ability to hold the warring Labour Party together, by talking left and acting right. His first two governments improved the welfare state, maintained full employment and a steady growth of living standards, and were reluctantly obliged to abandon Britain's by now tattered pretensions to the status of a world power.

THE period of the Wilson government was marked by a deepening dilemma—how to maintain full employment and growth without stoking up inflationary pressures. The 1966-70 government became immersed in the details of statutory incomes policies—productivity agreements, minimum wages, and overtime payments demanded a disproportionate share of ministers' time and energy. The 1974-76 government, starting with a pledge to return to free collective bargaining after the unhappy confrontation between Edward Heath and the miners in 1972 and 1974, found itself swept away by an inflationary hurricane that reached an annual rate exceeding 25 percent.

By the summer of 1975, an incomes policy had been cobbled together and accepted by the unions—an incomes policy that lasted for three years and produced a remarkable drop in inflation. But the policy offered no rewards for restraint, other than lower levels of inflation and some legislation of job security sought by the unions. By the autumn of 1978 the patience of the trade union members and of their leaders was running out. The Prime Minister's decision to delay an election to the spring of 1979 strained that patience to the breaking point, and the Callaghan government sunk in a turmoil of strikes throughout the public services.

As incomes policy dominated Labour's economic debate in the 1970s, so the European Economic Community dominated the discussion of international relations. For thirty years Labour failed to reach any conclusion about British membership in the Community. In the 1950s the party was generally against membership; the Community was for the Continentals. In the 1960s Harold Wilson's attempts to join were rebuffed, like Macmillan's, by General de Gaulle. In 1972 Edward Heath took Britain in, but on its election in 1974 Labour insisted first on re-negotiating the terms of membership (none too effectively) and then on holding a national referendum. Even the referendum, heavily in favor of staying in the Community, failed to end the debate. Labour fought the 1979 election on a manifesto unenthusiastically committed to staying in, and the 1983 election on a manifesto unenthusiastically committed to getting out.

THE LABOUR Party today, in the aftermath of its second heavy electoral defeat at the hands of the most right-wing government since the war, is trying to reconcile policy differences on the most important political issues of all—defense, Europe, the economy, and employment. On defense, the controversy has been settled at least temporarily by a compromise leaning to the left. Britain will remain within NATO, according to the recent Labour position, but it will insist on the removal of all nuclear bases, will cancel Trident, and will not replace or modernize Polaris. Part of the money saved on nuclear weapons will be spent on improving conventional defenses.

The hope, presumably, is that membership in NATO will enable a British government to exercise influence over NATO strategy, and (although this is not spelled out) to be protected by NATO's nuclear umbrella at one remove. What the consequences of this policy would be for American willingness to base troops in Europe, or for German membership in NATO, is not discussed. The policy has about it the smell of political expediency, the best of all worlds at the lowest of all prices. It could not serve as a serious policy for a British government.

ON EUROPE, the compromise leans the other way. During the European elections, the present Labour leader, Neil Kinnock, advocated "a new Messina," that is, a radical renegotiation of the existing Treaty of Rome. At least that got him off the hook of Labour's official policy, approved at its 1982 Party Conference and not subsequently changed, which commits the future Labour government to withdrawal. Labour's leaders know a withdrawal is not practical politics. They must be doubtful about whether renegotiation is practical politics either, since it takes ten states to negotiate and nobody else, except perhaps Denmark, is at all keen to do so. But so desperate is Labour's need for unity, however illusory, that realities are simply pushed away.

The third area of disagreement, the economy, is the one that most troubles Labour's leaders. They know that unemployment is the domestic issue of greatest concern to the voters. In fairness to Neil Kinnock, Roy Hattersley, and their colleagues, it must be said that unemployment at its present levels is abhorrent to them, too. They want to create jobs, and to do so by policies of reflation including higher government borrowing and public investment. But Labour's leaders, especially those who have served in government, know very well that a substantial reflation would rekindle inflationary pressures unless some kind of incomes restraint can be agreed upon.

And here one reaches the core of Labour's dilemma. The party depends on the trade unions for money and increasingly for manpower. Its leadership depends on the trade unions to carry their policies through the Party Conference, and now even to be reelected. The trade unions do not like incomes policies; they are wedded to free collective bargaining. And in the present mood of militancy, after six months of the min-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ers' strike, even the fragile economic cooperation implicit in Lionel Murray's "new realism" has been abandoned. True, that suggested a limited degree of cooperation with a Tory government in the interests of getting a modest reflation. But the climate has been soured for cooperation, even with a Labour government, if restraints on trade union bargaining power are required.

The Labour leadership's position is further weakened by the crumbling autonomy of the Parliamentary Party. One of Michael Foot's two "sovereign bodies" now seems readier to "bow the knee to the other"; the prospect of reselection concentrates the mind of Labour M.P.s on the views of their party activists. Indeed, reselection has cast its pall over Labour's unhappy and ineffective back-benchers. Fewer and fewer back-bench M.P.s play a large part now in the Commons. The real action is elsewhere.

Twice Neil Kinnock has been presented with a test of his leadership similar to that faced by Attlee when Laski tried to impose the National Executive Committee's decisions on the future Labour government. The first came over the question of a national ballot for the miners' strike, the second over the right of party members to vote on the sure selection of Labour M.P.s. It would have taken a bold man or woman to have insisted that a national ballot was the price of his or her support for the miners' strike, and Neil Kinnock did not do that.

If he had, the electoral benefit to the Labour Party would have been immense, for Kinnock would have aligned himself with the constitutional, democratic traditions, which Attlee and his colleagues exemplified. To be sure, the labor movement will be shaken by a defeat for that part of the National Union of Miners that is on strike; but the country would be shaken even more if an elected government, for the third time in ten years, was effectively broken by industrial action.

The second test, over reselections, has been half answered, half avoided. Neil Kinnock won praise in July for persuading the National Executive Committee to accept the option of a vote by all party members on the reselection of Labour M.P.s. His victory, however, was on the wrong battlefield, for it will be up to each constituency to decide whether or not to hold such a ballot, and the decision will be made by the activists on the general management committee. Where the activists are determined to get rid of their M.P., it seems highly unlikely they will put the issue to the test of a vote by all the members.

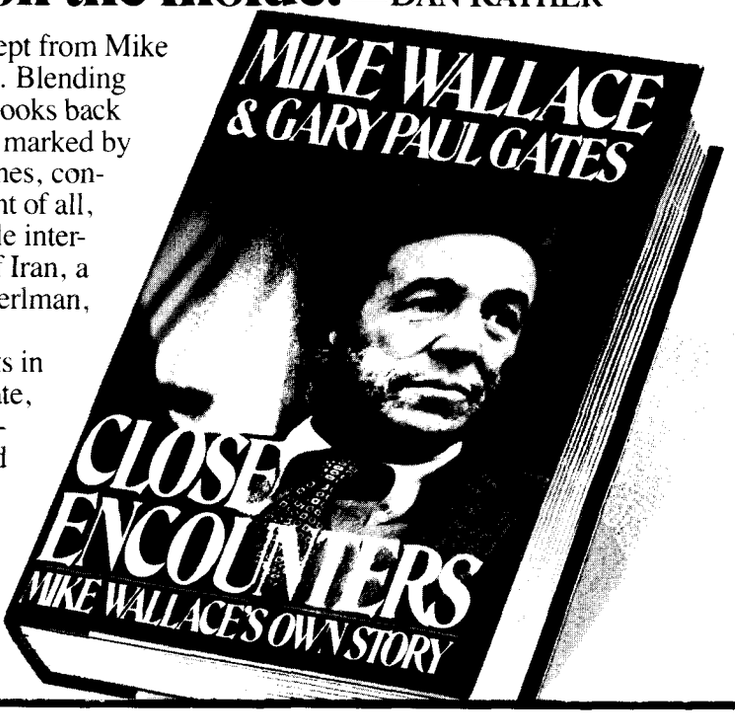
The old balance of power between the Parliamentary Party and the party activists has not been re-established, and everything therefore depends on how the unions vote. The unions themselves are absorbed in their own problems—falling membership, down by a sixth in the last five years; strained finances; restrictive laws; and a massive loss of influence and prestige. Politically, their views diverge. On the one side there are unions militantly determined to fight for pay and jobs against a government they regard as hostile; on the other, unions who fear militancy will alienate their own members and the wider society, too.

So Labour's future looks at best uncertain, at worst bleak. Labour still appeals to working-class solidarity, although such solidarity is crumbling

"The real Mike Wallace stands up, looks you in the eye, and tells you who he is and what *60 Minutes* is like on the inside."—DAN RATHER

This is exactly the kind of book you'd except from Mike Wallace: forthright, frank, and fascinating. Blending anecdote and thoughtful self-analysis, he looks back on the dramatic ups and downs of a career marked by critical attacks and critical acclaim, headlines, controversy, and even lawsuits. Most important of all, though, are the highlights of his remarkable interviews: a passionate Sadat, a canny Shah of Iran, a combative Oriana Fallaci, a witty Itzhak Perlman, and scores of others.

From Presidential campaigns to conflicts in the Middle East, from Vietnam to Watergate, CLOSE ENCOUNTERS is "a brisk, informative look at this controversial journalist and *60 Minutes* itself."—*Publishers Weekly*



An Alternate Selection of the Book-of-the-Month Club
Illustrated • $17.95

William Morrow
105 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

because of social and technological change. The irony is that it is the Conservative government's policies that shore up that crumbling solidarity, by widening income and regional inequalities and by ignoring the bitter consequences of long-term unemployment. The best argument for the Labour Party is the Conservative Party, but the argument will only hold if British politics offers no other alternatives. Fortunately, now it does.

SHIRLEY WILLIAMS

Shirley Williams is a leader of the Social Democrat Party in England.

THE OUTLAW JOSIE HERBST

Josephine Herbst
by Elinor Langer

(Atlantic-Little, Brown, 374 pp., $19.95)

It was inevitable that Josephine Herbst would be rediscovered, after thirty years of moldering obscurity, by a younger writer like Elinor Langer. A feminist and disappointed activist of the 1960s, Langer had long "claimed the radicals of the 1930s as my rightful ancestors and for years had pored over their histories as faithfully as any daughter of the other revolution had ever studied her family tree." Herbst was a left-wing novelist and journalist, much praised in the thirties for her fictional trilogy about a midwestern family that had been engulfed by the political and economic upheavals between the Reconstruction era and the Depression. Her reports on Nazi Germany, Cuban revolutionaries, farm strikes in America, and the Spanish Civil War were widely read in liberal and Communist journals of the time. But—was it a change in literary fashion, or the fact that Herbst proved to be a failed writer?—her name and work were forgotten by the end of the war, though she kept on working steadily until her death in 1969.

To a young radical like Elinor Langer, happening upon Herbst's work by chance in 1973, the older writer represented the kind of passionate engagement that, fully remembered, might recharge the dedications of an exhausted time. Moreover, as a woman whose work had been consigned to oblivion by predominantly male critics, Herbst could also be apotheosized as a feminist martyr. In every way she was the perfect subject for a biographer who came of age in the '60s, since she could be seen, Langer writes, as "a victim not only of the patriarchal literary establishment but also of the cultural anti-Comintern pact whose adherents had governed American letters since the end of World War II."

Such was the ideological premise with which Elinor Langer began her biographical journey, and it is to her credit that, the more she learned about the tangled character and career of Josephine Herbst, the less acceptable such simpleminded '60s dogma became. The more Langer probed, the more people she talked to, the more letters and journals she read, the more she was forced to reconsider and eventually discard some of the preconceived certainties with which she had begun: "To come to terms with what really happened to the woman in her lifetime, more than politics was required."

Langer has by no means been able, as she unravels the story, to free herself from New Left notions that twentieth-century American history has been a vast conspiracy against the left, particularly when she strains to draw questionable parallels between herself as the unreconciled voice of the '60s and Herbst as the indomitable spirit of the '30s. But when she focuses on the sad, vigorous, mixed-up, untamable personality of Josephine Herbst, she is admirably honest and perceptive.

Who was this forgotten woman? She was born in 1892, in Sioux City, Iowa, into a family whose financial state was precarious and became desperate: her father owned a small farm-equipment business that failed when Josie was in college. Starting out with nothing more than a burning desire to be a writer, and the mettlesome determination to live among equals like a writer, she made her way, like so many of her literary generation, from the provinces to Greenwich Village in the '20s, and from bohemia to Communist politics in the '30s.

Nothing ever came easily to her, money least of all, yet the range of friendship, experience, and wandering that she had managed to absorb before she turned 30 now seems astonishing. In New York she quickly came to know the lively group writing for *The Liberator* and *The Masses*, which included Michael Gold, Max Eastman, and Joseph Freeman. She had an affair with a married man—the young playwright Maxwell Anderson—that ended in an abortion. She began to write her first novel, inevitably about the affair, and landed a job in the H. L. Mencken-George Jean Nathan magazine empire. Before long she made her way to Europe where, in the heady air of Paris, she became part of the American literary-expatriate world dominated by Hemingway.

IT WAS in a Paris café that she met the handsome writer John Herrmann—nine years her junior, the feckless son of a stuffy well-to-do Michigan family—whom she eventually married and lived with, mostly miserably, for a decade. He turned out to be an alcoholic and an unscrupulous womanizer, and by 1934 they had parted for good. But it was through Herrmann, who joined the Communist Party and became involved in the Washington underground, that Herbst, who never was a party member, was drawn into the world of revolutionary agitation. Herrmann's mentor in the party was an agricultural economist, Harold Ware, who had set up a front outfit in Washington called Farm Research, in part as a way of recruiting people from the New Deal into espionage activities. Ware enlisted Herrmann as a courier for the underground, but all that his wife knew at the time—and she paid a price for her ignorance years later—was that she was helping to fight the good fight against capitalist injustice.

Remarkably, while she was so much on the move to report on farmers' strikes and revolutionaries in Cuba for *The New Masses*, and sitting through dreary speeches at interminable party-sponsored writers' congresses, Herbst

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was also working diligently throughout the decade, despite all the interruptions, on her most ambitious literary project, the three novels based on the history of her family down to her own life thus far. Unlike most bohemians and revolutionaries, Herbst did not believe that a rupture with her family and her past was the cold-blooded requisite of independence. Like her mother, Josephine treasured every story about the vanished generations, every scrap of family memory. As Victoria Chance, the character modeled on herself, reflects in the final volume, *Rope of Gold*, her mother "had never thrown string away. She had died with an attic full of things too good to throw away, with bags of old letters hanging from the rafter like beheaded corpses as if the written words of the dead somehow pledged the family to immortality."

HERBST never ceased loving her family and caring about what happened to all of them. As a historian of herself, personal and political, she confronted the task of transforming all those jealously cherished family stories of adventure and tragedy and madness and sacrifice into the exacting configurations of literary art. Langer describes with approval the way Herbst conceived of the novels: "As Josie examined her family's history for the first time through a Marxist prism, she came as close as she would ever come . . . to a revelation. The entire history of the . . . family . . . was an illustration of the breakdown of capitalism. . . . As if Marx and her mother had suddenly met and agreed."

It was Marx, unfortunately, who had the upper hand. For in this kind of ideological "vision," the Marxist imperatives press against the memories, oversimplify and flatten the form, the events, the dialogue, and the prose itself. It explains why much of the so-called proletarian literature of the '30s is, to the unbeliever at any rate, unreadable. Going through Herbst's trilogy recently, I could find little to distinguish this exercise in '30s naturalism from the thumpingly earnest efforts of other class-conscious female novelists of the period such as Grace Lumpkin, Fielding Burke (the pen-name of Olive Dargan), and Clara Weatherwax (*Marching! Marching!*). Elinor Langer, moved and excited by Herbst's novels, calls them "a radical reenactment of American history." Really!

Ideology makes for selective reading. Ideology also accounts for Langer's questionable judgments about a number of political crises in Josephine Herbst's life. In Spain during the Civil War, Herbst's faith in the purity of Soviet communism was shaken when she met the German Communist Gustav Regler, who had recently witnessed the beginnings of the purge trials in Moscow, and warned her that no good would come of the recent arrival in Madrid of a Russian military mission. Even more disturbing was the Communists' secret execution of John Dos Passos's friend and translator, José Robles, shot because, as Dos Passos later wrote, "Russian secret agents felt that [he] knew too much about the relations between the Spanish war ministry and the Kremlin and was not . . . politically reliable."

Yet Langer, instead of taking a hard look at the implications of Herbst's undiminished support of the C.P. after her return from Spain, lapses into sentimentality: "The world is too cynical now. . . . We have examined all the elements of the Spanish war so thoroughly that what it seemed to be while it was happening has been practically destroyed." As for Herbst's refusal to repudiate the Communists publicly after the Nazi-Soviet pact (though privately she could be scathing about the way the Stalinist intellectuals were squirming), Langer writes, giving her tacit assent: ". . . if the course of the radical movement had proved complex, she granted the complexities as she granted herself her own. She was not now, nor would she ever be, a revisionist. . . . Times changed, but Josie did not change. She ended the [thirties] with her radical spirit intact."

A graceful tribute, but it leaves out more than it says. That pseudosufficient word "complexities" just papers over the cracks, and it doesn't touch the heart of the matter, which is that "revision" is not necesssarily a dirty word, and a change of mind can sometimes be the only moral stand to take. Langer does not bother to point out, though she praises Regler's autobiography, *The Owl of Minerva*, that his experiences in Russia and Spain led him to break with the Communist movement as bitterly and finally as his friend Arthur Koestler, and that he was relentlessly hound-

Learn Spanish and French the U.S. Foreign Service way!

Now you can learn to speak Latin American Spanish or French with the courses good enough for the U.S. State Department's Foreign Service Corps—the same ones they've created to teach their own overseas personnel.

You can be fluent in Spanish or French. That's right, *fluent!* You can be speaking with all the confidence of a seasoned traveler in a matter of weeks. As well-versed in your new language as if *you* worked for the Foreign Service Corps—because that's exactly whom you'll be learning from.

The Foreign Service Institute has carefully developed, tested, and refined its language courses to train the U.S. State Department's overseas personnel quickly, thoroughly, and effectively. The clear, easy to follow approach and arrangement of material makes this a perfect method for self-instruction.

Now the FSI's complete self-instructional audio cassette courses are available to *you*. We will send you the entire Department of State audio cassette series and instruction books—the same ones you've seen advertised at much higher prices — to lead you step by step to fluent Spanish or French in weeks. You work when and where you can, at your own pace, following the taped lessons. You progress according to the schedule *you* establish.

Both courses use native speakers exclusively so that you hear exactly how each word, sentence, and conversation should sound. It won't be long before you start speaking and thinking in your new language. **These programs have to work—our State Department depends on them!**

MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE: try the FSI course of your choice for three weeks. If you are not completely satisfied, return it for a full refund. **There's no risk and no obligation, so order today!**

pinnacle *"The best way to learn a language."*
Dept. 426, 215 E. 79th St., New York, N.Y. 10021 (212) 863-8390

Please send me the following course(s) shipped in attractive library albums.

☐ Enclosed is my check or MO for $_____ (In NY add sales tax.)
Charge my: ☐ MC ☐ Visa ☐ Amex ☐ DC No. _____ Exp. Date

☐ **Programmatic Spanish—Vol. 1 Basic:** 11 cassettes (16 hrs.) manual and 464-page text. **$100**
☐ **Programmatic Spanish—Vol. 2 Intermediate:** 8 cassettes (12 hrs.) manual and 614-page text. **$90**
☐ **Both Volumes for Only $180.**

☐ **Basic French—Part 1:** 11 cassettes (16 hrs.); and 200-page text. **$100**
☐ **Basic French—Part 2:** 18 cassettes (25 hrs.); and 300-page text. **$125**
☐ **Both Volumes for Only $200.**

Signature_____ Name_____
Address_____
City_____ State_____ Zip_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ed and victimized by the Stalinists after he settled in Mexico. When he began to send affectionate letters to Josie Herbst, urging her to join him in Mexico, she drew back, perhaps, though Langer does not say this, because she considered it a form of treason to be intimately associated with an anti-Communist.

Langer's insistence on pushing her own views, her own time, her own radical history to center stage at critical points of the book becomes especially intrusive, more self-indulgent than enlightening, in her account of Josephine Herbst's connection with the case of Alger Hiss (whom she never met). When the F.B.I. after the war began investigating Communist activities in Washington during the '30s, John Herrmann and his second wife, Ruth, fled to Mexico, where he died in 1959. In the course of her research, Langer interviewed Ruth Herrmann, who told her—and Langer had no reason to doubt her word—that John had introduced Alger Hiss to Whittaker Chambers in 1934. Langer went into shock at the thought that Hiss had lied about never having known Chambers at that time, for, as she puts it in her *cri de coeur*, "If Hiss had not been falsely accused my entire interpretation of American history would be affected."

NOW, one can understand her perplexity, despite the frantic extravagance of that statement. But she is being disingenuous when she goes on to assert, without even mentioning the evidence painstakingly accumulated by Allen Weinstein in *Perjury*, that despite the torrents of words that have been expended on the case, "There are no arguments which have not been shaken, there is no evidence which has not been obfuscated, there have been no sentences either uttered or written that have not been parsed into nonsense."

Inexplicably, she remains untouched by the refreshingly blunt logic that Herbst herself brought to the Great Debate, cutting sensibly through all the hand-wringing. For Herbst (though she would have been flayed alive before giving any aid to the prosecution) privately deplored the stand that Hiss took (and has stuck to all along). As she wrote to a friend, "He should have boldly admitted to certain ideas now termed subversive but which were only honestly enlightened and leftish in the '30s. . . . You suspect a man who denies everything and is a pinnacle of proper conduct." Wise woman.

Yet it must also be emphasized that there is much more to Elinor Langer's biography of Josephine Herbst than her obsessive ideological shuttling between the sixties and the thirties, and the dubious notions she draws from her own place in the personal portrait of a courageous and difficult woman, and has shaped the vast amount of material she unearthed with subtlety and intelligence. She has made skillful use of the thousands of letters that poured, all her life long, from Josephine Herbst's fingers, and the woman we finally get to know so well is immensely absorbing.

THE ONE immovable root and anchor of her life, for some four decades, was the farmhouse the Herrmanns bought shortly after they married, which acquired electricity and running water long after such comforts were taken for granted by everyone else. Like her marriage and her two great love affairs—with women, for she was bisexual—the house was in constant need of repair. From Bucks County, from Yaddo, the artist's retreat in upstate New York, where she often went to escape the grim and lonely Pennsylvania winters, indeed from wherever she happened to find herself, the letters streamed inexhaustibly. They are the lifeblood of her genius for friendship. Unlike the tightly controlled prose of her "Marxist" fiction, the letters have the irrepressible abundance of a wild garden, full of wit, strong opinions, enthusiasm, and a lyrical generosity of spirit. But the letters could also, when she was tormented by *chagrins d'amour*, reveal her less winningly as abject and self-humiliating, vindictive, hysterically accusatory, sly.

It was the correspondence between Herbst and her longtime, supposedly dear friend Katherine Anne Porter that led Elinor Langer to a sensational discovery. When Herbst was working in the Office of Facts and Figures in wartime Washington, an F.B.I. agent assigned to her security investigation interviewed Porter, and she fed him enough lies to bring about Herbst's dismissal. Langer tells the noxious story so vividly that we can see Porter, bored out of her elegant skull as she sat out her third divorce in Reno, playing Scarlett O'Hara to the clean-cut agent, putty in her hands as she regaled him with her malicious inventions.

Herbst never learned of Porter's perfidy, but she was much luckier in all her other friends—an extraordinary bouquet of names, beginning in her youth with Hemingway, Mencken, the poet Genevieve Taggard, and including down through the years John Cheever, Saul Bellow, James T. Farrell, Alfred Kazin, and many, many others of both big and little fame. But what Langer makes us feel with such anguishing force is the demeaning and relentless poverty that was as much of a constant as her beloved house in Bucks County. From time to time she rented it out, once to the Stalinist matriarch Mother Bloor (the mother of Harold Ware), who, Langer reports, "promptly took down all Josie's belongings from the walls and replaced them with pictures of Lenin, Stalin, Bill Haywood, Walt Whitman, Angelo Herndon."

Only toward the end did Herbst begin to get some of the fruit that other writers had been plucking off the trees for years: a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, a prize from the National Institute of Arts and Letters. Such windfalls didn't make any difference in her view of the world: as a writer she spent the last years in the past, writing the labyrinthine memoirs that she was unable to complete. Given her intractable romanticism, she entirely failed to understand the realities of a drastically altered political world. To her the student takeover of Columbia in 1968 was an uprising of poor, powerless students against the rich protectors of property, an academic reprise of Harlan County. An obstinate mixture of nobility and foolish consistency, Josephine Herbst was from beginning to end, young and old, the girl of the old Wobbly song written by Joe Hill:

> Yes, her hands may be hardened from labor
> And her dress may not be very fine.
> But a heart in her bosom is beating
> That is true to her class and her kind.
> And the grafters in terror are trembling
> When her spite and defiance she'll hurl,
> For the only and thoroughbred lady is the rebel girl.

PEARL K. BELL

Pearl K. Bell is a writer who lives in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ENGLISH MINDS

That Noble Science of Politics: A study in nineteenth-century intellectual history
by Stefan Collini, Donald Winch, and John Burrow

(Cambridge University Press, 385 pp., $49.50, $14.95, paper)

There are two conventional ways in which thinking about politics and society in nineteenth-century England may be considered. One can draw up a list of the principal thinkers and commentators, starting with Burke and Bentham, and continuing via the Mills and Spencer to T. H. Green; read their works; make up one's mind about the meaning of what they said; write a chapter about each of them; and arrange those chapters in chronological order, so that changes and developments may be discerned. Or else one can start from the premise that whatever may have gone on in the nineteenth century was, broadly speaking, not much more than a sort of prelude to the triumphant reign of the social sciences in our own time; and that the intellectual enterprise of most interest for us today, therefore, is to look for those pioneers and precursors to whom all honor and praise are due for having played those roles.

Happily the three authors of this richly informative and quite original volume have eschewed both those approaches. They are rightly persuaded that any history of nineteenth-century English political thought which confines itself to certified giants is bound to be unsatisfactory, since it must omit from consideration figures who, while formally engaged in the study of history, economics, or philosophy, nonetheless had significant things to say about the nature of political action and thought. They are rightly persuaded, too, that the treatment of the whole subject as merely an overture to the twentieth century brings to it the kind of condescension which militates against genuine knowledge and understanding.

What this volume offers instead is a series of case studies, some involving well-known authors such as Macaulay, John Stuart Mill, and Walter Bagehot, other lesser-known ones such as William Stubbs, Edward A. Freeman, Sir John Seeley, Sir Henry Maine, Cliffe Leslie, and W. J. Ashley. But all the essays deal with those writers strictly within the context of their own time and in their own terms, respecting (but not necessarily always agreeing with) their methods and preoccupations. It is far from an easy book to read, because its chapters, while certainly connected in a general way by the problems they take up, do not form a continuous narrative. Furthermore, they do not lend themselves to convenient summaries since the authors, to their credit, are more interested in delineating arguments and unresolved tensions than in rounding off each essay with a neat conclusion. It seems to me that the best a reviewer can do is to put down, in his own words, some maxims to be derived from these essays, and to illustrate each with an example: still leaving lots of other plums to be pulled out of this tasty pudding by those intrepid, energetic, and fortunate readers who are going to tackle it themselves.

When confronted by an inexorable law, don't despair. Robert Malthus's *Essay on Population* (1798) was written by its clerical author in order to show that the poverty of the mass of society was due to the divinely ordained, and therefore inevitable, tendency of population growth to outrun subsistence. Thus it could not be alleviated either by political tinkering or by making changes in the existing structure of property and society. Actually, as John Stuart Mill was to recall, he and other young students who believed that society needed improvement, took up the Malthusian doctrine in a contrary sense. They argued that through a voluntary restriction of numbers—Mill himself advocated birth control—full employment at high wages could be secured for the entire laboring population. The poor laws were reformed on that principle. Furthermore, Malthus himself turns out not only to have been the gloomy clergyman of legend, but at the same time an old-fashioned Whig who was convinced of the virtues of the mixed Brit-

"HE WAS THE LAST of the old-time sinners, a man of world-shaking weaknesses who never tried to turn his transgressions into principles. His scandalous romance with Elizabeth Taylor consumed acres of newsprint, but he somehow refused to accept the role of swinger: He was betraying his wife, and he knew it, and he communicated guilt when others would have taken the current line that fidelity is an outmoded concept. Such trendy ploys were not for him."

For a free copy of the current issue of National Review write to Dept. R-18. 150 East 35th Street. New York, N.Y. 10016.

CALL FOR ANY CURRENT BOOK.

BOOK CALL™

1-800-255-2665

In Connecticut call 1-966-5470.

• Amex, MasterCard, Visa or check. • We ship immediately, anywhere in the world. • Gift wrapping available. • Mail orders welcome.

59 Elm Street, New Canaan, CT 06840.

SMITH
MARX
KEYNES
SCHUMPETER

After two hundred years of research on wealth development theory, an economic theory finally explains the making of business success.

KRAUS

The theory is based on the fundamental elements to make profit. If any element is missing, profit cannot be made. If any element is not being maximized, great profit cannot be made.

Even if you decide not to go into business for yourself, you will find the theory invaluable in all financial dealings. **$29. Satisfaction Guaranteed.**

"PROFIT INTERDEPENDENCE AND DEVELOPMENT", 15445 Ventura Blvd. Ste. 10, Sherman Oaks, CA 91413.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ish constitution, and very much aware of the danger to civil liberty posed by the distress of the poor, by a poor law which militated against "independence," and by the instability and unhealthiness of life in factory towns. In other words, a great deal of scope was left for political action and legislation.

Beware of textbook categories. They may well be wrong. We are often told that between the philosophic radicals who wished to apply Utilitarian principles to English politics, and the Whigs who were wary of system-mongering and preferred caution and gradualism to wholesale reform, there yawned a great gulf. Yet in their mutual emphasis on the need for enlightened legislation, regardless of specific forms of government, both groups owed much to that influential Scottish moral philosopher Dugald Stewart, whose lectures at the turn of the eighteenth century had shaped the intellectual outlook of the founders of the *Edinburgh Review* (1802). It's true that the quintessential Whig, Thomas Babington Macaulay, (author of the phrase that supplied the title of this volume) vigorously attacked the Utilitarian position in general, and James Mill in particular, in the name of the inductive method. Still he also greatly admired Mill's *History of British India*, which owed a good deal to the deductive method; moreover he shared with Mill a belief in progress and "The March of Mind."

Don't look for consistency. Try to understand discrepancy. For the historian Edward A. Freeman, as for numerous other commentators on politics in the 1860s and 1870s in England, the comparative method was, as Freeman put it, "the greatest intellectual achievement of our time." He himself employed it in writing both his *History of Federal Government in Greece and Italy* (1863) and, ten years later, in his lectures on *Comparative Politics*. But the emphasis of these two books is entirely different. The first, based mainly on the Greek city-state and the Lombard communes, regarded federalism as the greatest possible political experience. The second, based mainly on Switzerland as the home of Teutonic democracy and medieval particularism, celebrated national representative government, rooted in the Germanic tribes of the distant past. Why this contradiction? The authors explain that it reflects the tension in Freeman's own thought between confidence in political ingenuity and reason, which together could assure that the device of federalism could recreate the virtues of the city-state; and adherence to a kind of Burkean organic continuity by which the old German *mark* or township expands into the *gau* or hundred, which in turn combines with other hundreds into the nation. As it happens, a similar tension characterizes not Freeman's thought alone, but also the political thought of a number of other nineteenth-century English writers on politics. Indeed, one of the book's main themes is the intellectual strain that resulted from that tension.

Never underestimate the power of Clio. How those who concerned themselves with thinking about politics found it hard, during a period obsessed with the past, to resist using history to underwrite their speculations and reflections, is another thread that runs through most of these essays. On the whole, classical economics was marked by an ahistorical universalism, which left little room for the exercise of political judgment or for government action. The classical economists employed history mainly to show how economic rationality and the free market had triumphantly emerged from the bonds of feudalism. It was against this view that the so-called "historical economists" rebelled at the end of the nineteenth century. Arnold Toynbee (uncle of the historian), Archdeacon Cunningham, and W. J. Ashley differed in their views of politics. But they agreed in rejecting liberal individualism, and deplored rather than celebrated the period which saw the triumph of the Industrial Revolution. They regretted the fact that the state had abdicated its regulatory role, and that traditional restraints on economic activity had been removed. The important point for the authors of this volume, however, is that their books—including Toynbee's *Lectures on the Industrial Revolution in England* and Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*—were not just attempts to correct previous, mistaken views of economic history. They also carried important implications for politics, whether supporting increased intervention on the part of government during a period of social and economic crisis, or a greater role for the powerful national state at a time when competition between states on the international and imperial scene seemed to be becoming the norm.

Beware of modest definitions of fields by their cultivators. Sometimes "narrow is broad." In the late 1870s the great economist Alfred Marshall proposed the dropping of the term "Political Economy," and suggested that one speak simply of "Economic Science," or (as we do now, of course) of "Economics." Ostensibly the economist's role, according to Marshall, was to be a modest one: "Economic analysis could only indicate the consequences of possible courses of action insofar as they depended on economic causes." But while that injunction seems to restrict the economist's public role, that is deceptive. For Marshall, who had himself redefined the subject matter of economics as "the study of mankind in the ordinary business of life," was also convinced that "in the complex world of industrial nations more and more ques-

A Young Woman

That she, with such gifts given,
In the abundance and grace

Of her youth and sweetness,
As if in a garden, walking,

In a summer of freshness
And of the wind lifting

And falling in a lavishing
Of light and penultimate

Shadow, that she should falter
At all through this phase,

Pressing, with hand outstretched,
The surface of the future,

As one who is blind presses
The surface of darkness,

Of corridor, or wall,
For any assurance at all,

May she be blessed
In this faltering forward.

David Ferry

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions *were* essentially economic in their foundations." Thus the economist was uniquely equipped to deal not only with the factors which made for "sectional and class selfishness," but also to adjudicate any resulting conflicts between private and public interests. John Maynard Keynes and councils of Presidential advisers seem already to be waiting behind the scenes, ready to take center stage.

Read Bagehot! You won't be disappointed. In the most dazzling essay in the volume, the authors reexamine the multifaceted mind of that most brilliant and debonair of nineteenth-century commentators on English politics and society, and manage to say something fresh and new about him. It is, they point out, his "deliberate violations of the decorum of learned discourse" that set Bagehot's treatment of the nonrational aspects of politics apart, both from Burkean traditionalism and from the self-conscious neutrality of twentieth-century social scientists. Thus his various encomia on "stupidity" as a valuable ingredient of the body politic include social scientific insights before the existence of social science. "Stupidity," Bagehot writes, is "nature's favorite resource for preserving steadiness of conduct and consistency of opinion." Unlike Burke who, in a famous passage of his *Reflections*, had called the contract on which rests each particular state "but a clause in the great primeval contract of eternal society, linking the lower with the higher natures, connecting the visible and invisible worlds," Bagehot was given to no such awesome pronouncements.

He agreed with Burke in regarding the preservation of society as its first duty. But his tone is very different from Burke's—casual, ironic, almost conversational, rather than portentous and pious. "By the sound work of old-fashioned generations," he writes, "by the singular painstaking of the slumberers in the churchyard—by dull care, by stupid industry, a certain social fabric somehow exists." Where Burke had spoken of prejudice, sentiment, and right reason as contributing to "the ancient, permanent sense of mankind," Bagehot referred (though he did not defer) to public opinion as "the opinion of the bald-headed man at the back of the omnibus." For him the "dignified," i.e., ceremonial, parts of the English constitution were a theatrical show, a sort of conspiracy between himself and his educated readers, who knew very well that under the dignified disguises the "efficient" parts kept society in order and insured continued progress. Bagehot saw the significance of the second reform act of 1867, which gave the vote to the urban working class. Like other political thinkers of his time, he was afraid of what might happen when the masses came to power; and that fear provides a hidden ground base for much of his wit, charm, and elegance. This essay about him forms an entirely appropriate centerpiece for a book in which the possibility of class conflict and violence never lurks very far behind theoretical speculation. It also provides a much needed *divertissement*, a light touch naturally lacking from a science which, though noble rather than dismal, does not on the whole provide much scope for wit and humor. (Though I shall not soon forget the authors' comment that for Graham Wallas, Oxford always remained "the home of lost courses in political science," or their expressed conviction

TEACHERS

Challenge Your Students With

THE NEW REPUBLIC

IF YOU TEACH political science, economics, literature, international relations or history, we invite you to consider using THE NEW REPUBLIC in your classroom. Many of our readers were first introduced to THE NEW REPUBLIC in school and found the magazine then (as now) to be a valuable supplement to their formal education.

NOW YOU CAN influence tomorrow's decision makers. For only 50¢ per copy each week—*a savings of 47% off the regular subscription rate*—you can order THE NEW REPUBLIC for terms of one week to a full school year.

SO MAIL YOUR order in today. Every issue is an education in itself—and at 50¢ an issue, you can't beat it.

For more information call (202) 331-7494

THE NEW REPUBLIC
Classroom Dept.
1220 19th Street NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036

Please enter my CLASSROOM ORDER.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Number of student copies weekly* _____
(instructor's copy at no charge)

Starting date _____ Ending date _____

Signature _____

☐ Bill me ☐ Payment enclosed

*10 copies per week minimum

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the genius of James Bryce as a political scientist "largely consisted in an infinite capacity for taking trains.")

These essays—difficult, challenging, bracing, and rewarding—admirably perform what ought to be the principal function of such an enterprise: they make us think. Indeed, to adopt the authors' own usage, *con variazioni*, one might well conclude that their genius consists of an infinite capacity for shaking brains.

JOHN CLIVE

John Clive teaches modern British history at Harvard University. He is the author of *Macaulay: The Shaping of the Historian* (Knopf).

ANARCHISTS IN AMERICA

The Haymarket Tragedy by Paul Avrich

(Princeton University Press, 536 pp., $29.50)

Now that labor leaders form, for better or worse, the backbone of the Democratic Party, talk like machine politicians, and look like Irish cops, it's hard to imagine an American time and an American place in which labor leaders were anarchists who talked about revolution and looked like they meant it. But Chicago in the 1880s was such a time and place.

Paul Avrich's *The Haymarket Tragedy* vividly evokes the days when May Day meant something to American workers. In 1886, 300,000 workers took a May Day holiday, putting down their tools to demand an eight-hour work day in 13,000 factories across the country. Forty thousand went on strike in Chicago alone. When police killed six workers two days later, the anarchists who had vaulted to the head of the movement called a rally at Haymarket Square to denounce the shootings. The turnout was disappointing; the oratory, relatively moderate. But the police marched on the demonstrators anyway, and someone (Avrich thinks he might know who) threw a bomb into the crowd of police. Protestors and police alike stood in stunned silence after the blast and before the officers opened fire into the crowd of protestors.

When the streets were cleared and the bodies counted, eight anarchists were charged with the murder of a police officer. Four anarchists were eventually hanged for the deed (another blew himself up before he got to the scaffold), but not because they had thrown the bomb—even the prosecutors knew better than that. The state argued that the anarchists' preparations for, and prophecies of, revolution had inspired the guilty party's misguided hand. Never mind that the prosecution couldn't produce the actual bomb thrower to identify his alleged co-conspirators.

Studies of the incident have trickled in every twenty years or so since Henry David wrote *The History of the Haymarket Affair* in 1936. Avrich offers new, though inconclusive, information about the culprit's identity. And, the first to sift through the papers of two Illinois governors, Avrich details the energetic amnesty drive that emerged on behalf of the Haymarket eight. He's even tracked down some of their descendants. More important, however, Avrich has finally packed into a single work the incident, its aftermath, its principals, and its context. Centering his narrative on Chicago's anarchist leaders, August Spies, Lucy Parsons, and particularly her husband, Albert Parsons, Avrich has raised these men and women from the dead and wiped the dust off an era of some of the most intense labor conflict in American history.

Like all good histories, Avrich's has its underlying arguments to advance. His work on Russian and American anarchists has made him one of the foremost historians of the anarchist tradition that this country has. So it isn't surprising to see him counter those American thinkers, politicians, and editorialists who looked on class conflict as a European anomaly in America, a foreign element brought over by immigrants from elitist parliamentary democracies with rigid class structures. When they melted into the pot, the argument went, they too would realize that egalitarian democracy in the land of opportunity was infertile ground for anarchist agitation.

Avrich, however, takes a rather different view. His biographical approach lends support to the case that anarchism was not an entirely foreign import after all. *The Haymarket Tragedy* opens with the life of Albert Parsons and returns to him at each crisis in the narrative. As he moves further and further to the left, the landscape is so familiarly American—the Civil War, Reconstruction Texas, working-class Chicago—that the journey itself seems uniquely American. Parsons turns from the Socialist agitation of the 1877 railroad strike to the election campaigns of Lassallean socialism to the revolutionary Marxism of the anarchist-led International Working People's Association. With him as our guide, anarchism seems like a beaten path that many Americans of the time could have followed.

PARSONS'S life was an almost epic journey in radical Americana. He could trace his family back to the second voyage of the Mayflower. He spoke proudly of the role his ancestors played in the American Revolution. Parsons had little formal schooling, but he had a peculiarly American education: at 13 he joined the Confederate Army, where he stayed and fought until he turned 17, a scout in the battle that ended the Civil War west of the Mississippi.

Parsons emerged from his education with a lot of questions, questions about the South's secession, its slavery, and its white supremacy. He became a Radical Republican, serving as secretary in the Texas senate. He organized blacks to vote. He implored whites to accept them as citizens and respect the civil rights that the postwar order had conferred upon them. The message played badly, however; conservative Texans didn't listen to him long before they kicked him down the stairs, threatened him with horsewhipping, and talked of lynching.

Parsons left Texas in 1871 for Chicago. He took his observations of southern race relations with him, though, and transposed them onto northern la-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bor relations, describing the plight of the worker as "wage slavery." Texas racism had radicalized Parsons, but Chicago's labor conflict only pushed him further to the left. In the midst of the worst depression America had ever seen, Parsons became one of Chicago's most prominent Socialist agitators. He ran for alderman three times (unsuccessfully), and was even nominated for President by the Socialist Labor Party. (He declined it). In the summer of '77 a national railroad strike ended with a police riot, but Parsons only joined the anarchists after election officials cheated a Socialist out of his alderman seat, and election prospects grew increasingly dim for the left.

DISPARATE groups of revolutionary Socialists, having given up on the state and all attempts to reform it, gathered in Pittsburgh in 1881 to tie themselves together with a single banner. It was a successful convention by left standards, giving the group a new name, a new manifesto, and a new idea. Led by a group including later Haymarket martyrs August Spies and Parsons, the International Working People's Association adopted the Pittsburgh Manifesto with the "Chicago idea" as its centerpiece. It called for the union to become the locus of agitation for the great upheaval. In the postrevolutionary order, the union would also replace the commune in the radical blueprint as the primary social unit. Twenty years later European radicals would add sabotage and the general strike to this formula and call it anarcho-syndicalism. When the economy suffered another nervous breakdown in 1883, the International grew rapidly. At its height it numbered 5,000 members, in cities like New York and St. Louis and middle-American strongholds like Muskeegon, Michigan; Scammonville, Kansas; and Huron in the Dakota Territory. But Chicago was its "Mecca," and anarchists like Parsons, Spies, Michael Schwab, and Oscar Neebe were its strongest leaders.

Well dressed, slender, with a squat, triangular mustache, Parsons emerged from his political travels a magnetic speaker. Thanks to his combination of humor, statistics, and fiery oratory, delivered with what Avrich calls "a resonant voice and a flair for the dramatic," he became the International's most prominent orator; his paper, *The Alarm*, became one of its most important organs. And, together with Spies, he led the Chicago wing of the national movement for the eight-hour work day, until it dropped in its tracks after the Haymarket affair.

Avrich establishes anarchism's American credentials with Parsons' biography, but he rightly and carefully avoids distorting the history with too exclusive an American reading of events. He reminds us that anarchism's European roots run deep. Of the Haymarket eight, only Parsons spent his entire life in this country. German immigrants actually outnumbered native-born Americans in the International, and continuously paralleled the status of American workers with that of their more class-conscious counterparts in Europe. The anarchists leaned heavily on European radicals like Marx, Kropotkin, Bakunin, and Proudhon for their ideas.

Avrich presents a well-balanced portrait of the unusual mixture of American and European ideas and personalities that animated the speeches and strategies of the Chicago radicals. Parsons's writings and oratory were a patchwork of Marx, Bakunin, Proudhon and Kropotkin with constant references to Jefferson, Paine, and Patrick Henry (and Wendell Philips, a closer contemporary). The International's founding Pittsburgh Manifesto began with a left-wing version of the preamble to the Declaration. And when Haymarket convicts Adolph Fischer and George Engel, German immigrants both, rejected an appeal to the governor of Illinois, they didn't quote Robespierre at the guillotine or Engels at Marx's funeral, they quoted Patrick Henry's defiant "Give me liberty or give me death." The governor, though, was unmoved. He gave them death.

The Haymarket affair hardly ended America's anarchist history, but the fall of its leaders decapitated the Chicago movement. Eventually the center of activity shifted to New York, and more familiar names like Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman assumed its leadership. Anarchism in Chicago, however, never quite recovered from the Haymarket bomb.

Students of American radicalism face a tradition that has left something less than an enduring legacy in our own time. In response, many historians

ROMEWALKS

by Anya M. Shetterly

Just Published!

A New Republic Book

Four intimate walking tours of Rome's most historic and enchanting neighborhoods, with maps, photos, and a selected list of restaurants and shops.

_____ @ $9.95 (paperback) _____

ISGN: 0-03-061913-0

Postage (5% of above subtotal) _____

Handling .75

Applicable state and local taxes _____

Total Enclosed: _____

Send to: Trade Order Dept.
Holt, Rinehart and Winston
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10175

Prices subject to change without notice.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FRANK MURPHY

The Washington Years

by Sidney Fine

Frank Murphy would have liked to be President. But FDR effectively ended those hopes by appointing him to the Supreme Court. There, Murphy participated in deliberations on such landmark cases as *Betts v. Brady*, *Smith v. Allwright*, *Korematsu v. United States*, and *Terminiello v. Chicago*. This new study of Frank Murphy's career provides an unparalleled account of the Supreme Court during the years 1940-49, of the personalities of the justices and of the petty arguments and jealousies that marked the workings of the Court as it deliberated some of the most fundamental issues of American society. $29.95

The University of Michigan Press
Dept. FY P.O. Box 1104 Ann Arbor MI 48106

THE NEW REPUBLIC

SUBSCRIBER SERVICE

ADDRESS CHANGE?

If you plan to change your address please give us 4 weeks notice. We can handle this change most efficiently if you follow the instructions below:

1. Send us the mailing label on the front of this magazine to let us know your old address.
2. Write your new address below.
3. Mail this coupon to:
   THE NEW REPUBLIC
   P.O. Box 955
   Farmingdale, NY 11737

☐ Please send The New Republic to my new address:

Name (please print)

Address Apt. No.

City State Zip

To enter a new subscription or renew your current subscription, to order gift subscriptions or have your name removed from the TNR mailing list, please write to the address above.

have tended to highlight radical movements in their death throes rather than in their origins or at their heights. But Avrich has done his audience and history a great service in focusing on how these anarchists lived instead of how they died. What makes *The Haymarket Tragedy* so valuable is that Avrich has shown us a time when anarchism breathed life into American politics, and not simply when it drew its last breath in Chicago.

ANTHONY KAYE

SIX DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD

Warriors for Jerusalem: The Six Days That Changed the Middle East by Donald Neff

(Linden Press/Simon & Schuster, 430 pp., $17.95)

Few conflicts in recent years have been as important as Israel's crushing of the Egyptian, Jordanian, and Syrian armies in the Six Day War of June 1967. Before that war, many Arabs believed that they could and should destroy the state of Israel. But after their humiliation in 1967, most Arabs were eventually forced to acknowledge that they would have to accept a peace agreement with Israel to recover their lost land. (Sadat did not attack in Israel in 1973 to destroy it, but to make a political point.) Before 1967, Israel could complain that the Arabs refused to accept its existence. After 1967, many Arabs complained they were ready to recognize Israel if Israel would return to the old frontiers. And there were other repercussions, barely noticed at first. Israel paid for its enhanced security by trading in its image of the underdog for that of the bully.

Seventeen years after the 1967 war, there is room for a new, balanced account of it— the events leading up to it, the war itself, its rocky aftermath. The Six Day War lends itself to exhaustive study because it is so rich in material, cutting across so many national borders, involving so many players and so many disciplines—military strategy, Arab politics, Israeli-American relations, Soviet-American ties, and so on. Donald Neff, a former correspondent for *Time* who wrote an earlier work on the 1956 war, has tried, with considerable enthusiasm and highly charged prose, to tackle the subject. Instead of a dispassionate study, he has produced yet another polemic in the Arab-Israeli war of words. Neff's book is in effect a brief for the Arab point of view, particularly that of King Hussein.

Not only is the book unfairly critical of the Israelis in 1967, it is absurdly denigrating to Lyndon B. Johnson, then President. Neff argues that Johnson, weakened by Vietnam, dependent on Jewish support at home, and unwilling to cooperate with the Russians despite the first use of the hot line, made a lasting mistake in not forcing Israel to return the lands it won. The problems of the Middle East today, he concludes, are the direct result of the Israeli conquest and the American failure of will. "U.S. inaction in the past has already placed a great burden of guilt on it for Israel's increasingly bellicose behavior," he writes.

What is disconcerting about this book is that Neff has assembled the correct material but has come up with what appear, to me at least, to be the wrong conclusions. Neff describes, for instance, how Nasser suddenly decided to do away with the U.N. troops in the Sinai, to move his own forces into the region, and to proclaim a blockade of the Straits of Tiran, upsetting the arrangement that had been in place for ten years. But he does not make clear that these actions virtually compelled Israel to attack. President Eisenhower had forced the Israelis to return the Sinai and Sharm-el-Sheik in 1957 in exchange for a pledge of free passage and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the U. N. force. Moreover, the rhetoric from the Arabs in May 1967 was even more inflammatory than usual. King Hussein, caught up in the Nasser fever, signed a defense pact with Cairo, and the Russians were goading the Syrians and Egyptians toward closer unity. Having been a correspondent in Washington in 1967, I remember well the fatalistic sense that a war was inevitable. The only question that troubled most Americans was whether Israel could handle the Arabs without direct American military involvement. Given the extension of American forces in Southeast Asia, it was doubtful that Johnson could do much for the Israelis, who were under severe pressure from the Arabs. The Johnson Administration, aware that Israel already had a cause for war because of the blockade, tried to gain time to put together an international force to keep the waterway open, but failed. In the end, the Israelis made a preemptive air strike that wiped out the Egyptian Air Force on the ground and led to the swift Israeli victory.

Neff, in his earlier work, glorified Eisenhower for having forced Israel to relinquish its gains from the 1956 war. He takes Johnson to task for not doing the same in 1967. Having outlined the provocations from the Arabs, however, Neff seems unable to appreciate how events had changed in the intervening ten years. In 1956 the Israelis were the unquestioned aggressors, whatever their reasons. But in 1967 the Israelis were not perceived by anyone but the Arabs and the Soviet bloc as the aggressors. In the Security Council, for instance, the Soviet Union was never able to muster the nine votes needed to blame the Israelis for the war, and to demand their withdrawal. Instead, the only resolution passed in the first days of the war was for a simple cease-fire in place.

NEFF devotes considerable space in the book to the negotiations leading up to Resolution 242, which was passed in November 1967 and which remains one of the building blocks for an eventual settlement in the region. The language of that resolution, of course, is deliberately ambiguous, offering the Arabs the chance to recover their lands in return for offering recognition to Israel. The negotiations in ensuing years—not covered in this volume—became entangled in that ambiguity. Whereas in 1968 the Israelis were willing to offer considerable land in return for peace, the Israelis today seem uninterested in giving up what they still hold. (They returned the Sinai to Sadat in 1982 as part of the peace treaty signed in 1979.) And the Arabs, who in 1968 would not talk to Israel, are now for the most part ready to work out a deal if Israel will return all the occupied land, which may be asking too much.

It is a genuine tragedy that peace has eluded the Middle East for so many years. But the reasons for this failure to achieve solutions are more complicated than Neff wants to admit. To him, the failure is all the fault of the Israelis and their American friends. Like so many books published about the Middle East, Neff's will be lauded only by those for whom Israel is the villain, and condemned by those who can find no wrong in Israel.

BERNARD GWERTZMAN

Bernard Gwertzman covers foreign affairs for the Washington bureau of *The New York Times.*

CORRESPONDENCE, *from page 2*

direction is clear, government will be fragile—what's wrong with that?

In fact Israel's choices are not so bad. The major parties can either drag themselves into a reluctant and temporary "unity government" or use that threat to beat back the excessive demands of potential third-party coalition partners. Either way, the soul of Israel will be on sabbatical for a time; may it come back refreshed and clear.

LEE WAKEFIELD
San Francisco, California

SEXUAL MATURITY

To the editor:

Surely the nomination of Geraldine Ferraro merits serious political and social analysis. Instead, we are offered "Sexual Foreboding" (TNR, August 27), a peculiar article that strains mightily to make some connection between the nomination and the Vanessa Williams affair, and then turns around and attri-

continued on page 41

THE NEW REPUBLIC'S BEST BOOKS

Following is a list of books TNR *has recently reviewed and recommends.*

George Bancroft: The Intellectual as Democrat by Lilian Handlin (Harper & Row). A significant study of the American historian and politician. (Reviewed 9/10/84)

The Letters of Jean Rhys edited by Francis Wyndham and Diana Melly (Viking). The novelist becomes one of her own greatest characters. (9/10/84)

Paul Cézanne: The Watercolors, A Catalogue Raisonné by John Rewald (New York Graphic Society Books). A magisterial view of some of the most beautiful images in modern art. (9/10/84).

Edmund Gosse: A Literary Landscape by Ann Thwaite (Chicago University Press). The life of a man of letters in his glittering time.

The Illogic of American Nuclear Strategy by Robert Jervis (Cornell University Press). A rigorous analysis of the latest thinking about the bomb. (9/3/84)

An Uncommon Man: The Triumph of Herbert Hoover by Richard Norton Smith (Simon & Schuster). The odyssey of a dogmatic but misunderstood man. (9/3/84)

The Engineer of Human Souls by Josef Skvorecky (Knopf). An epic novel of a Czech émigré's life. (8/27/84)

River by Ted Hughes (Harper & Row). The return of an important poet. (9/3/84)

Karl Marx Collective: Economy, Society and Religion in a Siberian Collective Farm by Caroline Humphrey (Cambridge University Press). Marx meets Buddha in Siberia; a scholarly study of a strange corner of the world. (8/6/84)

Behind the Mask: On Sexual Demons, Sacred Mothers, Transvestites, Gangsters, Drifters and Other Japanese Cultural Heroes by Ian Buruma (Pantheon). Everything you wanted to know. (8/13&20/84)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC SHOP-BY-MAIL DIRECTORY

The Shop-By-Mail Directory is a monthly feature in The New Republic. Space is available to mail-order advertisers at the rate of $50 per column inch, camera-ready. If you are interested in advertising rates and information about the Shop-By-Mail Directory, call Joan Stapleton at (202) 331-7494 or write The New Republic Shop-By-Mail Directory, 1220 19th Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20036.

Braces/Bretelles/ Suspenders

Bullish on braces? Righto! Largest selection of smashing British braces/French bretelles magnifique/fine American suspenders. For dress/business/casual wear. Comfortable/stylish. For yourself/gifts! Write for free brochure. BERNARDO, 2400 Westheimer, Suite 108 West (R), Houston, TX 77098.

Mondale or Reagan?
Point Your Candidate In The Right Direction

Camp Shirt red on white
Indicate size and candidate
W—S, M, L M—S, M, L
Mondale/Reagan
16.50 + 1.50 handling
Damos for FUN
123 10th St., S.E.
Wash., D.C. 20003 (202) 546-4919

Work, Family, and earn your M.A. or B.A. at the same time?

YES. Vermont College of Norwich University, which is accredited by the New England Association of Schools and Colleges, has two of the pioneer external programs in individualized adult learning: An M.A. non-resident program and a 12-day residency B.A. program. Financial aid available.

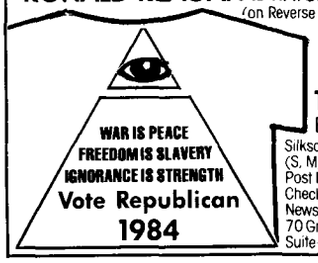
Call or write our Information Office: Dr. Argentine Craig, P.O. Box 4597, Baltimore, MD 21212, (301)433-6408 or Admissions, VERMONT COLLEGE, Box 43, Montpelier, VT 05602 (802)229-0522.

When requesting information, please request B.A. or M.A. program.

(REAGAN) THE HAWK!
T-SHIRTS

Hand silk screened on 50% cotton, 50% polyester T-shirts $10.00 ea. White, tan, grey, red, blue, yellow; Sweat shirts $16.00 grey. S · M · L · XL. Satisfaction guaranteed. Christopher Bing, 16 Alma St., Providence, RI 02908, or call (401) 274-4571. Quantity discounts. Send for free list of other designs.

RONALD REAGAN *IS WATCHING* **YOU**
(on Reverse Side of T-Shirt)



1984 T-SHIRTS
Beautiful Red
Silkscreened 2 Sides
(S, M, L, XL) $9.95
Post Paid. Send
Check or m/o:
Newspeak Designs
70 Greenwich Av.
Suite 410A NYC 10011

The People
The Workers' Advocate Since 1891...

Marxist biweekly covering major national and international events at rates working people can afford.

$4.00/one year, includes free pamphlet, "Capitalism and Unemployment." $1.00/four months. Write:

Dept. NR1, 914 Industrial Avenue Palo Alto, CA 94303

Alice's country cottage
Jefferson Shirt
100% cotton, wooden buttons and dropped shoulder seams, natural color. Period design. XS to XL. Choose cotton homespun or light weight muslin. $22.95 ppd. Wholesale orders welcome. Visit my shop in historic Harpers Ferry!
ALICE'S COUNTRY COTTAGE
Specify Men or Women **Box H Rohrersville, Md. 21779**

LET ME DIE BEFORE I WAKE
By Derek Humphry (author of Jean's Way)
Guide to self-deliverance for the dying. 128 pp. $11 (incls. shipping)
Hemlock Society P.O. Box 66218 Los Angeles, CA 90066

HOW TO EXECUTE AN AGENCY
by E. Waterhouse Allen
Election Year!
DO YOU KNOW
THE ONES WHO KNOW-
How to execute an agency-
or a nation?
Wicked satire, distilled from 50 years work in human services agencies. 1st edit., $3.95

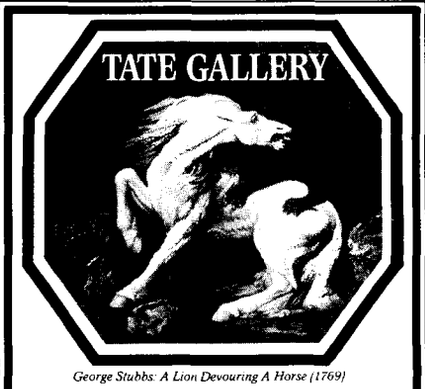
BARK-BACK
P.O. Box 235, Glenshaw, PA 15116.

TO: **PREGNANT WOMEN**
FROM: **RECREATIONS**
RE: **WARDROBE CATALOG**

Learn how easy and affordable it is to keep looking your best throughout your pregnancy. For catalog (sizes 4-14) with fit guide, send $2.00 to P.O. Box 091038 Dept NR Columbus, Ohio 43209 or call 614-861-2558

ReCreations
MATERNITY
Providers of fine maternity clothing since 1969

TATE GALLERY



George Stubbs: A Lion Devouring A Horse (1769)

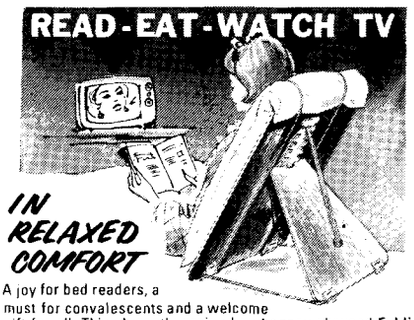
The Tate Gallery in London, houses the world's finest collection of 19th. & 20th. century art. Now for the first time, prints of the Tate's artworks are available in America. You will find all the great names—from Turner, Monet, and Van Gogh, to Picasso, Dali, and Klee—also hard to find artists like, the visionary poet and painter William Blake, the intriguing Pre-Raphaelites, the Victorian madman Richard Dadd, the London Impressionists, the fashionable David Hockney and many more.

FOR THE 72 PAGE FULL COLOUR CATALOGUE SEND $3 TO:

Museum Prints Unlimited
2210 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 627, Santa Monica, CA 90403
(213) 398-2400

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____
STATE _____ ZIP _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



IN RELAXED COMFORT

A joy for bed readers, a must for convalescents and a welcome gift for all. This elegantly grained mahogany plywood **Folding Back Rest** is super size, 16 × 24" high. A full 4 to 6" higher than other back rests. It gives full pillow support to head and back for firm sitting-up comfort. 5-adjustable positions. Vertical elastic cords hold your own pillow securely in place. Non-skid base. Conveniently light, it folds wafer-thin — no storage problem. **$18.98.** Order from this ad, we'll pay postage, ship promptly. NJ residents add 6% tax. Money back guarantee.

Order by check, Visa, MasterCard- | **BETTER SLEEP, INC.** Box TK, New Providence NJ 07974

B

COME HOME TO COTTON

Let your body breathe in Deva's handcrafted clothes of lushly textured, pre-shrunk cotton.

A C

All styles offered in: ***Natural • Navy Lilac • Pink • Plum • Russet • Sky Blue • Yellow • Black***

A. Deva Jacket	$26
B. Lotus Pants	$21
C. Sun Shirt	$20
D. Deva Pants	$19

All prices postpaid. State hip, waist, bust/chest measurements. Money-back Guarantee

DEVA, a Cottage Industry
Box NRE, Burkittsville, MD 21718
M/C VISA orders: (301) 473-4900

D

FREE CATALOGUE & SWATCHES

REAGAN SPEAKS!

T-SHIRTS

Six of Reagan's most eloquent quotes with cartoons on a 100% cotton t-shirt. $8.25 ea., S-M-L-XL in tan, blue or yellow. Quantity discounts. Send for FREE CATALOG of *environmental, anti-Reagan* and anti-nuke designs. Satisfaction guaranteed. JIM MORRIS, P.O. Box 2308 Dept. XK4, Boulder, Co. 80306, or call (303) 444-6430.

Share the Earth

butes the making of that connection to men. The connection demeans Ms. Ferraro and allows the authors to ignore the main point, the nomination of a woman by a male-dominated major party. Indeed, the authors go out of their way to repeat tasteless anti-Ferraro jokes—just in case anyone hasn't heard them.

Their conclusion? November will provide a test of male maturity. But why wait for November? August has already provided a test for feminists; two of them have failed miserably.

ALVIN KOGUT
Far Rockaway, New York

THE HITLER PLOT

To the editor:

Helmut Kohl indeed deserves the 1984 Chutzpah Award for inviting himself to the D-day observances. But don't begrudge Claus von Stauffenberg the respect we all owe him ("Misplaced Gratitude," TNR, August 13&20).

Stauffenberg began actively plotting against Hitler, not when defeat was inevitable (as you state), but in 1942, when many Germans still believed in the thousand-year Reich. Yes, he and his fellow plotters were patriots, but Stauffenberg, in the political context of Nazi Germany, was hardly "right wing." (For example, he forcefully insisted on Social Democrat Julius Leber as head of a democratic post-Hitler government.) It took the conspirators until 1944 to assemble the elements necessary to strike. By July 1944 the Allies were implacably committed to unconditional surrender, and they rebuffed the conspirators' overtures. With no realistic prospect of political benefit, they still went forward with the plot, motivated—may I say it?—by personal and national honor.

Miraculously, Hitler survived when the Wolfsschanze bomb went off on July 20, 1944. Stauffenberg, 36 years old, was executed the same day. By all accounts he was a humane, honorable man; a good soldier and devout Catholic who agonized over, but did not shirk, the moral duty he imposed on himself: to try to liberate Germany and the occupied territories from an inhumane regime by striking down the murderous tyrant who had created it.

RICHARD N. BURNS
Century City, California

write off and an opportunity to use the lavish Reagan-era depreciation formulas, which only apply to purchases since 1981. He has hardly even "leveraged" his holdings by borrowing against them to buy more. What kind of American is he?

There is one building Zaccaro owns half of in the form of a partnership, the usual tax-shelter arrangement. Even here, though, he sort of misses the point. The partnership bought the building, a Manhattan loft warehouse, in 1980 (bad timing once again—just a few months before the Reagan revolution) for $750,000. In 1980 and 1981 the building generated very satisfactory "losses" for Zaccaro of $25,000 and $30,000, including an estimated $12,500 of depreciation each year. Zaccaro duly subtracted these "losses" from his other income. But by 1982 his "loss" was down to less than $4,000, and last year he actually had a fully taxable profit of $38,504. This is outrageous. Zaccaro must do his bit for the nation's prosperity by selling this building to someone who can depreciate it fair and square under the Reagan rules. Zaccaro can use the money to buy a new building, and do the same. Even if the building is still worth only $750,000, Zaccaro's half interest would produce $25,000 a year in phony depreciation "losses" alone ($45,000 the first year if they convert the loft into residences). Thus, many thousands of dollars would remain where they are happiest, in the private sector, rather than being cruelly forced to toil for the government in the cesspools of waste, fraud, and abuse.

In 1983, his best year, with an income of over $200,000, John Zaccaro managed to come up with a mere $5,211 in deductions for travel and entertainment. In 1982, the figure was only $2,280. A doctor fresh out of internship can do better than this. Zaccaro doesn't even seem to have a business car. That is nothing less than an insult to every other real estate mogul and Mercedes dealer in the country.

To be fair, Zaccaro did deduct $6,445 last year in mortgage interest payments on the family's third home, a condominium in the Virgin Islands. There was dizzy talk early in the Reagan Administration of eliminating the mortgage interest deduction for third homes. Fortunately, cooler heads prevailed.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DALLAS DIARIST

White People

IN DALLAS, as in San Francisco, the press seats were along the front wall more or less behind the podium, so you had the choice of staring at a three-quarters view of the back of the speaker's head, watching on a large TV screen, or gazing out at the delegates. From TNR's front-row seat, you could observe Lew Lehrman in his tiresome red suspenders, urgently directing a network of young aides via walkie-talkie; Congressman Newt Gingrich jabbering through the crowd, with Elizabeth Drew earnestly scribbling notes in his wake; but very little other purposeful activity. Clots of delegates huddled for warmth in the icy air-conditioned hall. The main effect of the panoramic view was to bring home the meaning of Nancy Reagan's famous remark, at a 1980 campaign rally, about "all these beautiful white people." It's a deeply white crowd, the Republican Party. The speaking agenda included a feature, perhaps a new Republican tradition, that might be called "Negro of the Night." Every evening some new black recruit was served up with great flourish, like a freshly caught fish on a platter, beginning Monday with Roosevelt Grier, formerly of the Kennedy claque, and ending Thursday with Ray Charles. But the lasting impression was that there were more blacks on the podium than there were in the audience.

AS THEIR TREATMENT of blacks demonstrates, the Republicans are no less enthusiastic than the Democrats about pandering to special interest groups. They're just more graceless about it. One woman I know says that if she were Katherine Ortega, the hapless Hispanic lady the party leaders set up for nationwide ridicule by inviting her to give the keynote address, she'd switch parties immediately in revenge. Surely the low moment in pandering, though, was Senator Paul Laxalt's crude appeal to Catholics by suggesting that "the once-great Democratic Party" has reached some sort of epic low point because the governor of New York has dared to take issue with something said by an archbishop. "Shame on you, Mario Cuomo," he croaked, his voice dripping with mock piety. At least no one can accuse the G.O.P. of pandering to gays. Subsequent speakers were quick to pick up Jeane Kirkpatrick's cutting term of reference for her erstwhile political allies—"the San Francisco Democrats"—with its subtle suggestion that anyone voting for Mondale is liable to contract AIDS.

KIRKPATRICK SET THE TONE for the convention with her memorably vicious speech declaring that people who disagree with Republican foreign policy are un-American. But there was something comic about the effort of Republican imagemeisters to turn this austere figure into some sort of cult heroine. Delegates happily waved the signs they'd been given declaring, improbably, "Jeane, We Love You!" and, "We're Keen for Jeane!" But when she started quoting Jean François Revel, the fans grew pensive.

AFTER ALL THE FUSS, the eighteen-minute film about Reagan was nothing to write Leni Riefenstahl about. The Mondale film shown by the Democrats had more inspired flights of fancy. (My favorite: "He became known as 'the children's Senator.' ") The previous night's film about Nancy was more wretchedly manipulative. It featured Her crying at the memory of her father, Him wiping away a tear at the thought of trying to live without Her, Her playing with little children while Sinatra sings "Nancy with the Laughing Face" on the soundtrack, and so on. I thought I was resistant to this sort of thing, but when they got to the scene of Her having lunch with Betsy Bloomingdale and Jerry Zipkin, I broke down and sobbed with the rest of the audience.

IT CAN STRIKE at any time during a convention: *credential anxiety*. Why does her pass say NEWS MEDIA while mine just says PRESS? The properly festooned reporter has more chains around his neck than Sammy Davis Jr. These include: a convention press pass, a floor pass (for access to delegates), a campaign press I.D. issued by the Secret Service, a White House pass, a Senate pass, a corporate I.D. issued by the networks and other large media organizations, and several small color-coded badges indicating membership in various candidates' press entourages. Some look as if they could use a wheelbarrow to lug it all around. But just as watches get thin again at the very top of the prestige hierarchy, credentials get simple. Reagan adviser Lynn Nofziger (who was mere "Periodical Press" at the Democratic convention, which he covered for *Newsweek*) swaggered around Dallas wearing a single elegant cardboard card reading: TOTAL ACCESS.

AS PETER APPLEBOME explained in these pages a couple of weeks ago, Dallas is an insecure city, and was desperately eager to make a good impression on the visiting press. Although I enjoyed myself, in general the reviews were negative. The kind of earthy ambience that journalists love is exactly what Dallas prides itself on lacking. A remark by Robert Shogun of the *Los Angeles Times* was widely repeated. He called Dallas "the worst place I've ever been as a civilian." The only kind word I heard all week was from Murray Kempton. "I judge a convention by the distance from my seat to the men's room," he said. By that standard, he reported, Dallas far surpasses San Francisco as a place for a convention.

ONE OF THE MOST amazing sights of any political convention is David Broder, dean of American political journalists, sitting at his word processor in the midst of the din, calmly grinding out his daily production of half a dozen articles, analyses, and columns. As the first night's session drew to a raucous close in Dallas, the entire press section watched in slack-jawed amazement as Broder produced the lead story for the next morning's *Washington Post*, oblivious not only to the chaos all around but to the magisterial presence of Katharine Graham herself perched next to him, reading over his shoulder.

M.E.K.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Show her the rewards of full economic recovery.

De Beers

A quality diamond of a carat or more.

Quality. It's as important in diamonds as in anything else you own. It's especially important in diamonds of a carat or more.

Extraordinary. One of nature's most perfect gifts is also the hardest natural gemstone known to man. It's spectacular. Impressive. And rare.

In order to understand quality in diamonds, one must understand the 4C's: Cut, Color, Clarity and Carat-weight. It is the 4C characteristics that determine the value of a diamond.

Your jeweler is the expert where diamonds are concerned. He can show you diamonds of a carat or more of such exceptional quality as to please even the most discriminating tastes. Give her the ultimate. A quality diamond of a carat or more.

A diamond is forever.

The necklace shown features a quality diamond of 3.06 carats.
Since this isn't the kind of purchase you make every day, we've prepared an informative brochure to help you make the right decision.
For your copy, send $2.00 to Diamond Information Center, Dept. C, 1345 Avenue of the Americas, NY, NY 10105.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PROPERTY OF
AMBASSADOR COLLEGE LIBRARY
Big Sandy, Texas

A PREMIUM QUALITY.

Almost two-thirds of all the cars Ford Motor Company sells in the U.S. qualify for lower insurance rates from Allstate.

No other car company in the world can make that statement.

Get it together—buckle up.

On average, the cars we sell get the most favorable rates from Allstate Insurance Company of any manufacturer, foreign or domestic.

And if there's one area in which Ford is proud to rate lower than the competition, it's insurance costs.

So visit your Ford or Lincoln-Mercury dealer soon. Ask about the Lifetime Service Guarantee* while you're there, but above all, go for a test drive.

We think you'll be very impressed with our new cars. As impressed, perhaps, as Allstate Insurance Company seems to be.

You're going to love the quality. Ford **Quality is Job 1.**

*See your participating dealers for details.

FORD • LINCOLN • MERCURY •
FORD TRUCKS • FORD TRACTORS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED